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THE SEA-BOARD-SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

MR. Olmsted, still in Richmond, takes a short trip by rail. The passengers are a mixed class—slave and free. He says:

FREIGHT TAKEN—THE SLAVE-TRADE

"There were, in the train, two first-class passenger cars and two freight cars. The latter were occupied by about forty negroes, most of them belonging to traders, who were sending them to the cotton States to be sold. Such kind of evidence of activity in the slave-trade of Virginia is to be seen every day; but particulars and statistics of it are not to be obtained by a stranger here. Most gentlemen of character seem to have a special disinclination to converse on the subject; and it is denied, with feeling, that slaves are often reared, as is supposed, by the Abolitionists, with the intention of selling them to the traders. It appears to me evident, however, from the manner in which I hear the traffic spoken of incidentally, that the cash value of a slave for sale, above the cost of raising it from infancy to the age at which it commands the highest price, is generally considered among the surest elements of a planter's wealth. Such a nigger is worth such a price, and such another is too old to learn to pick cotton, and such another will bring so much, when it has grown a little more, I have frequently heard people say, in the street or the public houses. That a slave woman is commonly esteemed least for her labouring qualities, most for those qualities which give value to a brood-mare, is also constantly made apparent.*

"By comparing the average decennial ratio of slave increase in all the States with the difference in the number of the actual slave population of the slave-breeding States, as ascertained by the census, it is apparent that the number of slaves exported to the cotton States is considerably more than twenty thousand a year.

"While calling on a gentlemen occupying an honourable official position at Richmond, I noticed upon his table a copy of Professor Johnson's Agricultural Tour in the United States. Referring to a paragraph in it, where some statistics of the value of the slaves raised and annually exported from Virginia were given, I asked if he knew how these had been obtained, and whether they were reliable. 'No,' he replied, 'I don't know any thing about it; but if they are any thing unfavourable to the institution of Slavery you may be sure they are false.' This is but an illustration, in extreme, of the manner in which I find a desire to obtain more correct, but *definite*, information on the subject of Slavery is usually met by gentlemen otherwise of enlarged mind and generous qualities.

my cautious statements on this subject, made in the *Daily Times*, says: 'In the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, as much attention is paid to the breeding and growth of negroes as to that of horses and mules. Further south we raise them both for use and for market. Planters command their girls and women (married or unmarried) to have children; and I have known a great many negro girls to be sold off because they did not have children. A breeding woman is worth from one-sixth to one-fourth more than one that does not breed.'

* * A slaveholder, writing to me with regard to

"A gentleman, who was a member of the 'Union Safety Committee' of New York during the excitement which attended the discussion of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, told me that, as he was passing through Virginia this winter, a man entered the car in which he was seated, leading in a negro girl, whose manner and expression of face indicated dread and grief. Thinking she was a criminal, he asked the man what she had done.

"'Done? Nothing.'

"'What are you going to do with her?'

"'I am taking her down to Richmond, to be sold.'

"'Does she belong to you?'

"'No; she belongs to —; he raised her.'

"'Why does he sell her? Has she done any thing wrong?'

"'Done any thing? No: she's no fault, I reckon.'

"'Then, what does he want to sell her for?'

"'Sell her for! Why should 'nt he sell her? He sells one or two every year: wants the money for 'em, I reckon.'

"The irritated tone and severe stare with which this was said my friend took as a caution not to pursue his investigation.

"A gentleman, with whom I was conversing on the subject of the cost of slave labour, in answer to an inquiry—What proportion of all the stock of slaves of an old plantation might be reckoned upon to do full work?—answered, that he owned ninety-six negroes: of these only thirty-five were field hands, the rest being either too young or too old for hard work. He reckoned his whole force as only equal to twenty-one strong men, or 'prime field hands.' But this proportion was somewhat smaller than usual, he added, 'because his women were uncommonly good breeders: he did not suppose there was a lot of women anywhere that bred faster than his; he never heard of babies coming so fast as they did on his plantation; it was perfectly surprising; and every one of them, in his estimation, was worth two hundred dollars, as negroes were selling now, the moment it drew breath.'

"I asked what he thought might be the usual proportion of workers to slaves, supported on plantations, throughout the South. On the large cotton and sugar plantations of the more Southern States, it was very high, he replied, because their hands were nearly all bought and *picked for work*: he supposed on these it would be about one half; but on any old plantation, where the stock of slaves had been an inheritance, and none had been bought or sold, he thought the working force would rarely be more than one-third at most of the whole number.

"This gentleman was out of health, and told me, with frankness, that such was the trouble and annoyance his negroes occasioned him—although he had an overseer—and so wearisome did he find the lonely life he led on his plantation, that he could not remain upon it; and as he knew every thing would go to the dogs if he did not, he was seriously contemplating to sell out, retaining only his foster-mother and a body-servant. He thought of taking them to Louisiana and Texas for sale; but if he should learn that there was much probability that Lower California would

be made a slave State, he supposed it would pay him to wait, as probably, if that should occur, he could take them there and sell them for twice as much as they would now bring in New Orleans. He knew very well, he said, that, as they were, raising corn and tobacco, they were paying nothing at all like a fair interest on their value.*

The author visits a tobacco farm "up the country town," of which he gives a miserable description. In this part of Virginia it seems that slaves commanded high prices, as labourers, as the farms were "short-handed." His principal remarks, however, refer to the poor whites, who, though hands were wanted, would not do "nigger's work," preferring to live how they could. In the following passage he speaks of his host.

WHITE LABOURING PEOPLE.

"From the manner in which he always talked of the white labouring people, it was evident that, although he placed them in some sort on an equality with himself, and that in his intercourse with them he would 'nt think of asserting for himself any superior dignity, or even feel himself to be patronizing them in not doing so; yet he, all the time, recognised them as a distinct, and a rather despicable class, and wanted to have as little to do with them as he conveniently could.

"I have been once or twice told that the poor white people, meaning those, I suppose, who bring nothing to market to exchange for money but their labour, although they may own a cabin and a little furniture, and cultivate land enough to supply themselves with (maize) bread, are worse off in almost all respects than the slaves. They are said to be extremely ignorant and immoral, as well as indolent and unambitious. That their condition is not as unfortunate by any means as that of negroes, however, is most obvious, since from among them men *sometimes* elevate themselves to positions and habits of usefulness and respectability. They are said to 'corrupt' the negroes, and to encourage them to steal, or to work for them at night and on Sundays, and to pay them with liquor, and also to constantly associate licentiously with them. They seem,

* "Mr. Wise is reported to have stated, in his electioneering tour, when candidate for Governor in 1855, that, if Slavery were permitted in California, negroes would sell for 5000 dollars a-piece.

"Some of his best hands he now rented out to work in a furnace, and for the best of these he had been offered, for next year, two hundred dollars. He did not know whether he ought to let them go, though. They were worked hard and had too much liberty, and were acquiring bad habits. They earned money by overwork, and spent it for whiskey, and got a habit of roaming about and *taking care of themselves*; because, when they were not at work in the furnace, nobody looked out for them.

"I begin to suspect that the great trouble and anxiety of Southern gentlemen is, How, without quite destroying the capabilities of the negro for any work at all, to prevent him from learning to take care of himself."

nevertheless, more than any other portion of the community, to hate and despise the negroes.

Our next extract, though long, will be found deeply interesting. It is an account of the author's visit to

A FREE-LABOUR FARM.

"I have been visiting a farm cultivated entirely by free labour. The proprietor told me that he* was first led to disuse slave labour, not from any economical considerations, but because he had become convinced that there was an essential wrong in holding men in forced servitude with any other purpose than to benefit them alone, and because he was not willing to allow his own children to be educated as slave-masters. His father had been a large slaveholder, and he felt very strongly the bad influence it had had on his own character. He wished me to be satisfied that Jefferson uttered a great truth when he asserted that Slavery was more pernicious to the white race than the black. Although, therefore, a chief part of his inheritance had been in slaves, he had liberated them all.

"Most of them had, by his advice, gone to Africa. These he had frequently heard from. Except a child that had been drowned, they were, at his last account, all alive, in general good health, and satisfactorily prospering. He had lately received a letter from one of them, who told him that he was '*trying* to preach the gospel,' and who had evidently greatly improved, both intellectually and morally, since he left here. With regard to those going North, and the common opinion that they encountered much misery, and would be much better off here, he said that it entirely depended on the general character and habits of the individual: it was true of those who were badly brought up, and who had acquired indolent and vicious habits, especially if they were drunkards; but if of some intelligence and well trained, they generally represented themselves to be successful and contented.

"He mentioned two remarkable cases that had come under his own observation of this kind. One was that of a man who had been free, but, by some fraud and informality of his papers, was re-enslaved. He ran away, and afterwards negotiated by correspondence with his master, and purchased his freedom. This man he had accidentally met, fifteen years afterwards, in a Northern city. He was engaged in profitable and increasing business, and shewed him, by his books, that he was possessed of property to the amount of ten thousand dollars. He was living a great deal more comfortably and wisely than ever his old master had done. The other case was that of a coloured woman, who had obtained her freedom, and who became apprehensive that she also was about to be fraudently made a slave again. She fled to Philadelphia, where she was nearly starved at first. A little girl, who heard her begging in the streets to be allowed to work for bread, told her that her mother was wanting some washing done, and she followed her home.

The mother, not knowing her, was afraid to trust her with the articles to be washed. She prayed so earnestly for the job, however, suggesting that she might be locked into a room until she had completed it, that it was given her.

"So she commenced life in Philadelphia. Ten years afterwards he had accidentally met her there; she recognised him immediately, recalled herself to his recollection, manifested the greatest joy at seeing him, and asked him to come to her house, which he found a handsome three-story building, furnished really with elegance; and she pointed out to him, from the window, three houses in the vicinity that she owned and rented. She shewed great anxiety to have her children well educated, and was employing the best instructors for them which she could procure in Philadelphia.

"This gentleman, notwithstanding his anti-slavery sentiments, by no means favours the running away of slaves, and thinks the Abolitionists have done immense harm to the cause they have at heart. He wishes Northerners would mind their business, and leave Slavery alone, say but little about it—nothing in the present condition of affairs at the South—and never speak of it but in a kind and calm manner. He would not think it right to return a fugitive slave; but he would never assist one to escape. He has several times purchased slaves, generally such as his neighbours were obliged to sell, and who would otherwise have been taken South. This he had been led to do by the solicitation of some of his relatives. He had retained them in his possession until their labour had in some degree returned their cost to him, and he could afford to provide them with the means of going to Africa or the North, and a small means of support after their arrival. Having received some suitable training in his family, they had, without exception, been successful, and had frequently sent him money to purchase the freedom of relatives or friends they had left in Slavery.

"He considered the condition of slaves to have much improved since the Revolution, and very perceptibly during the last twenty years. The original stock of slaves, the imported Africans, he observed, probably required to be governed with much greater severity, and very little humanity was exercised or thought of with regard to them. The slaves of the present day are of a higher character: in fact, he did not think more than half of them were full-blooded Africans. Public sentiment condemned the man who treated his slaves with cruelty. The owners were mainly men of some cultivation, and felt a family attachment to their slaves, many of whom had been the playmates of their boyhood. Nevertheless, they were frequently punished severely, under the impulse of temporary passion, often without deliberation, and on unfounded suspicion. This was especially the case where they were left to overseers, who, though sometimes men of intelligence and piety, were more often coarse, brutal, and licentious; drinking men, wholly unfitted for the responsibility imposed on them.

"He had read '*Uncle Tom's Cabin*;' mentioned several points in which he thought it wrong: that Uncle Tom was too highly painted,

* The author was still in Virginia.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

for instance; that such a character could not exist in, or spring out of Slavery; and that no gentleman of Kentucky or Virginia would have allowed himself to be in the position with a slave-dealer in which Mr. Shelby is represented: but he acknowledged that cases of cruelty and suffering, equal to any described in it, might be found. In his own neighbourhood, some time ago, a man had been whipped to death; and he recollected that several had been maimed for life by harsh and hasty punishment; but the whole community were indignant when such things occurred, and any man guilty of them would be without associates, except of similar character.

"The opinions of this gentleman must not, of course, be considered as representative of those of the South in general by any means; but as to facts, he is a competent, and, I believe, a wholly candid and unprejudiced witness. He is much respected, and on terms of friendship with all his neighbours, though they do not like his views on this subject. He told me, however, that one of them, becoming convinced of their correctness some time ago, freed his slaves, and moved to Ohio. As to 'Uncle Tom,' it is generally criticised very severely, and its representations of Slavery indignantly denied. I observe that it is not placarded outside the booksellers' stores, though the whole fleet of gun-boats that have been launched after it shew their colours bravely. It must, however, be a good deal read here, as I judge, from the frequent allusions I hear made to it.

"With regard to the value of slave-labour, this gentleman is confident that, at present, he has the advantage in employing freemen instead of it. It has not been so until of late, the price of slaves having much advanced within ten years, while immigration has made free white labourers more easy to be procured.

"He has heretofore had some difficulty in obtaining hands when he needed them, and has suffered a good deal from the demoralizing influence of adjacent slave-labour, the men, after a few months' residence, inclining to follow the customs of the slaves with regard to the amount of work they should do in a day, or their careless mode of operation. He has had white and black Virginians, sometimes Germans, and latterly Irish. Of all these, he has found the Irish, on the whole, the best. The poorest have been the native white Virginians; next, the free blacks; and though there have been exceptions, he has not generally paid these as high as one hundred dollars a year, and has thought them less worth their wages than any he has had. At present he has two white natives and two free coloured men, but both the latter were brought up in his family, and are worth twenty dollars a year more than the average. The free black, he thinks, is generally worse than the slave, and so is the poor white man. He also employs, at present, four Irish hands, and is expecting two more to arrive, who have been recommended to him and sent for by those he has. He pays the Irishman 120 dollars a year and boards them. He has had them for 100 dollars; but these are all excellent men, and well worth their price. They are less given to drinking than any men he has ever had: and one of them first suggested improvements to him

in his farm that he is now carrying out with prospects of considerable advantage. House-maids, Irish girls, he pays three dollars and six dollars a month. He does not apprehend that in future he shall have any difficulty in obtaining steady and reliable men that will accomplish much more work than any slaves. There are some operations, such as carting and spreading dung, and all work with the fork, spade, or shovel, at which his Irishmen will do, he thinks, over fifty per cent. more in a day than any negroes he has ever known. On the whole, he is satisfied that at present free-labour is more profitable than slave-labour, though his success is not so evident that he would be willing to have attention particularly called to it. His farm, moreover, is now in a transition state from one system of husbandry to another, and appearances are temporarily more unfavourable on that account.

"The wages paid for slaves when they are hired for agricultural labour do not differ at present, he says, from those which he pays for his free labourers. In both cases the hiring party boards the labourer, but, in addition to money and board, the slave employer has to furnish clothing, and is subject, without redress, to any losses which may result from the carelessness or malevolence of the slave. He also has to lose his time if he is unwell, or when from any cause he is absent or unable to work.

"The slave, if he is indisposed to work, and especially if he is not treated well, or does not like the master who has hired him, will sham sickness—even make himself sick or lame—that he need not work. But a more serious loss frequently arises, when the slave, thinking he is worked too hard, or being angered by punishment or unkind treatment, 'getting the sulks,' takes to 'the swamp,' and comes back when he has a mind to. Often this will not be till the year is up for which he is engaged, when he will return to his owner, who, glad to find his property safe, and that it has not died in the swamp, or gone to Canada, forgets to punish him, and immediately sends him for another year to a new master.

"But, meanwhile, how does the negro support life in the swamp? I asked.

"Oh, he gets sheep and pigs and calves, and fowls and turkeys: sometimes they will kill a small cow. We have often seen the fires, where they were cooking them, through the woods, in the swamp yonder. If it is cold, he will crawl under a fodder-stack, or go into the cabins with some of the other negroes, and in the same way, you see, he can get all the corn, or almost any thing else he wants."

"He steals them from his master?"

"From any one: frequently from me. I have had many a sheep taken by them."

"It is a common thing, then?"

"Certainly it is, very common, and the loss is sometimes exceedingly provoking. One of my neighbours here was going to build, and hired two mechanics for a year. Just as he was ready to put his house up the two men, taking offence at something, both ran away, and did not come back at all till their year was out, and then their owner immediately hired them out again to another man."

These negroes 'in the swamp,' he said, were often hunted after, but it was very difficult to find them, and, if caught, they would run again, and the other negroes would hide and assist them. Dogs to track them he had never known to be used in Virginia.

(To be continued.)

THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER ON KANSAS.

(Continued from p. 187.)

"Next comes the Apology *absurd*, which is, indeed, in the nature of a pretext. It is alleged that a small printed pamphlet, containing the 'Constitution and Ritual of the Grand Encampment and Regiments of the Kansas Legion,' was taken from the person of one George F. Warren, who attempted to avoid detection by chewing it. The oaths and grandiose titles of the pretended legion have all been set forth, and this poor mummerly of a secret Society, which existed only on paper, has been gravely introduced on this floor, in order to extenuate the crime against Kansas. It has been paraded in more than one speech, and even stuffed into the report of the Committee.

"A part of the obligations assumed by the members of this Legion shews why it has been thus pursued, and also attests its innocence. It is as follows:

"I will never knowingly propose a person for membership in this order *who is not in favour of making Kansas a free State*, and whom I feel satisfied will exert his entire influence to bring about this result. I will support, maintain, and abide by any honourable movement made by the organization to secure this great end, *which will not conflict with the laws of the country and the Constitution of the United States.*

"Kansas is to be made a free State, by an honourable movement, which will not conflict with the laws and the Constitution. That is the object of the organization, declared in the very words of the initiatory obligation. Where is the wrong in this? What is there here, which can cast reproach, or even suspicion, upon the people of Kansas? Grant that the legion was constituted, can you extract from it any apology for the original crime, or for its present ratification? Secret Societies, with their extravagant oaths, are justly offensive; but who can find, in this mistaken machinery, any excuse for the denial of all rights to the people of Kansas? All this, I say, on the supposition that the Society was a reality, which it was not. Existing in the fantastic brains of a few persons only, it never had any practical life. It was never organized. The whole tale, with the mode of obtaining the copy of the Constitution, is at once a cock-and-bull story and a mare's nest; trivial as the former; absurd as the latter; and to be dismissed, with the apology founded upon it, to the derision which triviality and absurdity justly receive.

"It only remains, under this head, that I should speak of the Apology *infamous*; founded on false testimony against the Emigrant-Aid Company, and assumptions of duty more false than the testimony. Defying truth and mocking decency, this apology excels all others in

futility and audacity, while, from its utter hollowness, it proves the utter impotence of the conspirators to defend their crime. Falsehood, always *infamous*, in this case arouses peculiar scorn. An association of sincere benevolence, faithful to the Constitution and laws, whose only fortifications are hotels, school-houses, and churches—whose only weapons are saw mills, tools, and books—whose mission is peace and goodwill—has been falsely assailed on this floor, and an errand of blameless virtue has been made the pretext for an unpardonable crime. Nay, more—the innocent are sacrificed, and the guilty set at liberty. They who seek to do the mission of the Saviour are scourged and crucified, while the murderer, Barabbas, with the sympathy of the chief priests, goes at large.

"Were I to take counsel of my own feelings, I should dismiss the whole apology to the ineffable contempt which it deserves; but it has been made to play such a part in this conspiracy, that I feel it a duty to expose it completely.

"Sir, from the earliest times, men have recognised the advantages of organization, as an effective agency in promoting works of peace or war. Especially at this moment there is no interest, public or private, high or low, of charity or trade, of luxury or convenience, which does not seek its aid. Men organize to rear churches and to sell thread; to build schools and to sail ships; to construct roads and to manufacture toys; to spin cotton and to print books; to weave cloths and to quicken harvests; to provide food and to distribute light; to influence public opinion and to secure votes; to guard infancy in its weakness, old age in its decrepitude, and womanhood in its wretchedness; and now, in all large towns, when death has come, they are buried by organized Societies, and, emigrants to another world, they lie down in pleasant places, adorned by organized skill. To complain that this prevailing principle has been applied to living emigration is to complain of Providence and the irresistible tendencies implanted in man.

"But this application of the principle is no recent invention, brought forth for an existing emergency. It has the best stamp of antiquity. It shewed itself in the brightest days of Greece, where colonists moved in organized bands. It became a part of the mature policy of Rome, where bodies of men were constituted expressly for this purpose—*triumviri ad colonos deducendos* (Livy, xxxvii. § 46.) Naturally it has been accepted in modern times by every civilized State. With the sanction of Spain, an association of Genoese merchants first introduced slaves to this continent. With the sanction of France, the Society of Jesuits stretched their labours over Canada and the great lakes of the Mississippi. It was under the auspices of Emigrant-Aid Companies, that our country was originally settled, by the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, by the adventurers of Virginia, and by the philanthropic Oglethorpe, whose 'benevolence of soul,' commemorated by Pope, sought to plant a free State in Georgia. At this day such associations, of a humbler character, are found in Europe, with offices in the great capitals, through whose activity emigrants are directed here.

"For a long time, emigration to the West,

from the Northern and Middle States, but particularly from New England, has been of marked significance. In quest of better homes, annually it has pressed to the unsettled lands, in numbers to be counted by tens of thousands; but this has been done heretofore with little knowledge, and without guide or counsel. Finally, when, by the establishment of a Government in Kansas, the tempting fields of that central region were opened to the competition of peaceful colonization, and especially when it was declared that the question of Freedom or Slavery there was to be determined by the votes of actual settlers, then at once was organization enlisted as an effective agency in quickening and conducting the emigration impelled thither, and, more than all, in providing homes for it on arrival there.

"The Company was first constituted under an Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts, 4th of May 1854, some weeks prior to the passage of the Nebraska Bill. The original Act of Incorporation was subsequently abandoned, and a new charter received in February 1855, in which the objects of the Society are thus declared:

"For the purposes of directing emigration Westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their place of destination."

"At any other moment, an association for these purposes would have taken its place, by general consent, among the philanthropic experiments of the age; but crime is always suspicious, and shakes, like a sick man, merely at the pointing of a finger. The conspirators against Freedom in Kansas now shook with tremor, real or affected. Their wicked plot was about to fail. To help themselves, they denounced the Emigrant-Aid Company; and their denunciations, after finding an echo in the President, have been repeated, with much particularity, on this floor, in the formal report of your Committee.

"The falsehood of the whole accusation will appear in illustrative specimens.

"A charter is set out, section by section, which, though originally granted, was subsequently abandoned, and is not in reality the charter of the Company, but is materially unlike it.

"The Company is represented as 'a powerful corporation, with a capital of five millions;' when, by its actual charter, it is not allowed to hold property above one million, and, in point of fact, its capital has not exceeded 100,000 dols.

"Then, again, it is suggested, if not alleged, that this enormous capital, which I have already said does not exist, is invested in 'cannon and rifles, in powder and lead, and implements of war;' all of which, whether alleged or suggested, is absolutely false. The officers of the Company authorize me to give to this whole pretension a point-blank denial.

"All these allegations are of small importance, and I mention them only because they shew the character of the report, and also something of the quicksand on which the Senator from Illinois has chosen to plant himself. But these are all capped by the unblushing assertion that the proceedings of the Company were 'in perversion of the plain provisions of an Act of Congress;' and

also, another unblushing assertion, as 'certain and undeniable,' that the Company was formed to promote certain objects, 'regardless of the rights and wishes of the people, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and secured by their organic law;' when it is certain and undeniable that the Company has done nothing in perversion of any Act of Congress, while to the extent of its power it has sought to protect the rights and wishes of the actual people in the Territory.

"Sir, this Company has violated in no respect the Constitution or laws of the land; not in the severest letter or the slightest spirit. But every other imputation is equally baseless. It is not true, as the Senator from Illinois has alleged, in order in some way to compromise the Company, that it was informed before the public of the date fixed for the election of the Legislature. This statement is pronounced by the Secretary, in a letter now before me, 'an unqualified falsehood, not having even the shadow of a shade of truth for its basis.' It is not true that men have been hired by the Company to go to Kansas; for every emigrant, who has gone under its direction, has himself provided the means for his journey. Of course, Sir, it is not true, as has been complained by the Senator from South Carolina, with that proclivity to error which marks all his utterances, that men have been sent by the Company 'with one uniform gun, Sharpe's rifle;' for it has supplied no arms of any kind to anybody. It is not true that the Company has encouraged any fanatical aggression upon the people of Missouri; for it has counselled order, peace, forbearance. It is not true that the Company has chosen its emigrants on account of their political opinions; for it has asked no questions with regard to the opinions of any whom it aids, and at this moment stands ready to forward those from the South as well as the North, while, in the Territory, all, from whatever quarter, are admitted to an equal enjoyment of its tempting advantages. It is not true that the Company has sent persons merely to control elections, and not to remain in the Territory; for its whole action, and all its anticipation of pecuniary profits, are founded on the hope to stock the country with permanent settlers, by whose labour the capital of the Company shall be made to yield its increase, and by whose fixed interest in the soil the welfare of all shall be promoted.

"Sir, it has not the honour of being an Abolition Society, or of numbering among its officers Abolitionists. Its President is a retired citizen, of ample means and charitable life, who has taken no part in the conflicts on Slavery, and has never allowed his sympathies to be felt by Abolitionists. One of its Vice-Presidents is a gentleman from Virginia, with family and friends there, who has always opposed the Abolitionists. Its generous Treasurer, who is now justly absorbed by the objects of the Company, has always been understood as ranging with his extensive connexions, by blood and marriage, on the side of that quietism which submits to all the tyranny of the Slave-power. Its Directors are more conspicuous for wealth and science, than for any activity against Slavery. Among these is an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts, Mr. Chapman

—personally known, doubtless, to some who hear me—who has distinguished himself by an austere conservatism, too natural to the atmosphere of courts, which does not flinch even from the support of the Fugitive Slave Bill. In a recent address at a public meeting in Springfield, this gentleman thus speaks for himself and his associates:

“I have been a Director of the Society from the first, and have kept myself well informed in regard to its proceedings. I am not aware that any one in this community ever suspected me of being an Abolitionist; but I have been accused of being pro-Slavery; and I believe many good people think I am quite too conservative on that subject. I take this occasion to say that all the plans and proceedings of the Society have met my approbation; and I assert that it has never done a single act with which any political party or the people of any section of the country can justly find fault. The name of its President, Mr. Brown, of Providence, and of its Treasurer, Mr. Lawrence, of Boston, are a sufficient guaranty in the estimation of intelligent men against its being engaged in any fanatical enterprise. Its stockholders are composed of men of all political parties except Abolitionists. I am not aware that it has received the patronage of that class of our fellow-citizens, and I am informed that some of them disapprove of its proceedings.”

“The acts of the Company have been such as might be expected from auspices thus severely careful at all points. The secret through which, with small means, it has been able to accomplish so much, is, that, *as an inducement to emigration, it has gone forward and planted capital in advance of population.* According to the old immethodical system, this rule is reversed, and population has been left to grope blindly, without the advantage of fixed centres, with mills, schools, and churches—all calculated to soften the hardships of pioneer life—such as have been established beforehand in Kansas. Here, Sir, is the secret of the Emigrant-Aid Company. By this single principle, which is now practically applied for the first time in history, and which has the simplicity of genius, a business association at a distance, without a large capital, has become a beneficent instrument of civilization, exercising the functions of various Societies, and in itself being a Missionary Society, a Bible Society, a Tract Society, an Education Society, and a Society for the Diffusion of the Mechanic Arts. I would not claim too much for this Company; but I doubt if, at this moment, there is any Society which is so completely philanthropic; and since its leading idea, like the light of a candle from which other candles are lighted without number, may be applied indefinitely, it promises to be an important aid to human progress. The lesson it teaches cannot be forgotten; and hereafter, wherever unsettled lands exist, intelligent capital will lead the way, anticipating the wants of the pioneer—nay, doing the very work of the original pioneer—while, amidst well-arranged harmonies, a new community will arise, to become, by its example, a more eloquent preacher than any solitary Missionary. In subordination to this essential idea, is its humbler machinery for the aid of emigrants on their way, by combining parties, so that friends and neighbours might journey

together; by purchasing tickets at wholesale, and furnishing them to individuals at the actual cost; by providing for each party a conductor familiar with the road, and, through these simple means, promoting the economy, safety, and comfort of the expedition. The number of emigrants it has directly aided, even thus slightly, in their journey, has been infinitely exaggerated. From the beginning of its operations down to the close of the last autumn, all its detachments from Massachusetts contained only thirteen hundred and twelve persons.

“Such is the simple tale of the Emigrant-Aid Company. Sir, not even suspicion can justly touch it. But it must be made a scapegoat. This is the decree which has gone forth. I was hardly surprised at this outrage, when it proceeded from the President, for, like Macbeth, he is stepped so far in, that returning were as tedious as go on; but I did not expect it from the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Geyer), whom I had learned to respect for the general moderation of his views, and the name he has won in an honourable profession. Listening to him, I was saddened by the spectacle of the extent to which Slavery will sway a candid mind to do injustice. Had any other interest been in question, that Senator would have scorned to join in impeachment of such an association. His instincts as a lawyer, as a man of honour, and as a Senator, would have forbidden; but the Slave-power, in enforcing its behests, allows no hesitation, and the Senator surrendered.

“In this vindication, I content myself with a statement of facts, rather than an argument. It might be urged that Missouri had organized a propagandist emigration long before any from Massachusetts, and you might be reminded of the wolf in the fable, which complained of the lamb for disturbing the waters, when in fact the alleged offender was lower down on the stream. It might be urged, also, that South Carolina has lately entered upon a similar system—while one of her chieftains, in rallying recruits, has unconsciously attested to the cause in which he was engaged, by exclaiming, in the words of Satan addressed to his wicked forces, ‘Awake! arise! or be for ever fallen!’* But the occasion needs no such defences. I put them aside. Not on the example of Missouri or the example of South Carolina, but on inherent rights, which no man, whether Senator or President, can justly assail, do I plant this impregnable justification. It will not do, in specious phrases, to allege the right of every State to be free in its domestic policy from foreign interference, and then to assume such wrongful interference by this Company. By the law and Constitution we stand or fall; and that law and Constitution we have in no respect offended.

“To cloak the overthrow of all law in Kansas, an assumption is now set up, which utterly denies one of the plainest rights of the people everywhere. Sir, I beg Senators to understand that this is a Government of laws; and that, under

* Mr. Evans, of South Carolina, here interrupted Mr. Sumner, to say that he did not know of any such address. Mr. Sumner replied that it was taken from Southern papers.

these laws, the people have an incontestable right to settle any portion of our broad territory, and, if they choose, to propagate any opinions there, not openly forbidden by the laws. If this were not so, pray, Sir, by what title is the Senator from Illinois, who is an emigrant from Vermont, propagating his disastrous opinions in another State? Surely he has no monopoly of this right. Others may do what he is doing; nor can the right be in any way restrained. It is as broad as the people; and it matters not whether they go in numbers small or great, with assistance or without assistance, under the auspices of Societies or not under such auspices. If this were not so, then by what title are so many foreigners annually naturalized, under democratic auspices, in order to secure their votes for misnamed democratic principles? And if capital as well as combination cannot be employed, by what title do venerable associations exist, of ampler means and longer duration than any Emigrant-Aid Company, around which cluster the regard and confidence of the country—the Tract Society, a powerful corporation, which scatters its publications freely in every corner of the land—the Bible Society, an incorporated body, with large resources, which seeks to carry the Book of Life alike into Territories and States—the Missionary Society, also an incorporated body, with large resources, which sends its agents everywhere, at home and in foreign lands? By what title do all these exist? Nay, Sir, by what title does an Insurance Company in New York send its agent to open an office in New Orleans; and by what title does Massachusetts capital contribute to the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in Missouri, and also to the copper mines of Michigan? The Senator inveighs against the native-American party; but his own principle is narrower than any attributed to them. They object to the influence of emigrants from abroad; he objects to the influence of American citizens at home, when exerted in States or Territories where they were not born. The whole assumption is too audacious for respectful argument. But since a great right has been denied, the children of the Free States, over whose cradles has shone the North Star, owe it to themselves, to their ancestors, and to freedom itself, that this right should now be asserted to the fullest extent. By the blessing of God, and under the continued protection of the laws, they will go to Kansas, there to plant their homes, in the hope of elevating this Territory soon into the sisterhood of free States; and to such end they will not hesitate, in the employment of all legitimate means, whether by companies of men or contributions of money, to swell a virtuous emigration, and they will justly scout any attempt to question this unquestionable right. Sir, if they failed to do this, they would be fit only for slaves themselves.

"God be praised! Massachusetts, honoured Commonwealth that gives me the privilege to plead for Kansas on this floor, knows her rights, and will maintain them firmly to the end. This is not the first time in history that her public acts have been arraigned, and that her public men have been exposed to contumely. Thus was it when, in the olden time, she began the great battle whose fruits you all enjoy. But never yet has she occupied a position so lofty as at this

hour. By the intelligence of her population—by the resources of her industry—by her commerce, cleaving every wave—by her manufactures, various as human skill—by her institutions of education, various as human knowledge—by her institutions of benevolence, various as human suffering—by the pages of her scholars and historians—by the voices of her poets and orators—she is now exerting an influence more subtle and commanding than ever before—shooting her far-darting rays wherever ignorance, wretchedness, or wrong prevail, and flashing light even upon those who travel far to persecute her. Such is Massachusetts, and I am proud to believe that you may as well attempt, with puny arm, to topple down the earth-rooted, heaven-kissing granite which crowns the historic sod of Bunker's Hill, as to change her fixed resolves for freedom every where, and especially now for freedom in Kansas. I exult, too, that in this battle, which surpasses far in mortal grandeur the whole war of the Revolution, she is able to preserve her just eminence. To the first she contributed a larger number of troops than any other State in the Union, and larger than all the Slave States together; and now to the second, which is not of contending armies, but of contending opinions, on whose issue hangs trembling the advancing civilization of the country, she contributes, through the manifold and endless intellectual activity of her children, more of that divine spark by which opinions are quickened into life, than is contributed by any other State, or by all the Slave States together, while her annual productive industry excels in value three times the whole vaunted cotton crop of the whole South.

"Sir, to men on earth it belongs only to deserve success, not to secure it; and I know not how soon the efforts of Massachusetts will wear the crown of triumph. But it cannot be that she acts wrong for herself or children, when in this cause she thus encounters reproach. No; by the generous souls who were exposed at Lexington; by those who stood arrayed at Bunker Hill; by the many from her bosom who, on all the fields of the first great struggle, lent their vigorous arms to the cause of all; by the children she has borne, whose names alone are national trophies, is Massachusetts now vowed irrevocably to this work. What belongs to the faithful servant she will do in all things, and Providence shall determine the result.

"And here ends what I have to say of the four Apologies for the Crime against Kansas.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

"III. From this ample survey, where one obstruction after another has been removed, I now pass, in the third place, to the consideration of the *various remedies proposed*, ending with the *TRUE REMEDY*.

"The Remedy should be co-extensive with the original Wrong; and since, by the passage of the Nebraska Bill, not only Kansas, but also Nebraska, Minnesota, Washington, and even Oregon, have been opened to Slavery, the original prohibition should be restored to its complete activity throughout these various Territories. By such a happy restoration, made in good faith, the whole country would be replaced in the con-

dition which it enjoyed before the introduction of that dishonest measure. Here is the Alpha and the Omega of our aim in this immediate controversy. But no such extensive measure is now in question. The crime against Kansas has been special, and all else is absorbed in the special remedies for it. Of these I shall now speak.

"As the apologies were four-fold, so are the remedies proposed four-fold, and they range themselves in natural order, under designations which so truly disclose their character as even to supersede argument. First, we have the Remedy of Tyranny; next, the Remedy of Folly; next, the Remedy of Injustice and Civil War; and, fourthly, the Remedy of Justice and Peace. There are four caskets; and you are to determine which shall be opened by Senatorial votes.

"There is the *Remedy of Tyranny*, which, like its complement, the *Apology of Tyranny*—though espoused on this floor, especially by the Senator from Illinois—proceeds from the President, and is embodied in a special message. It proposes to enforce obedience to the existing laws of Kansas, 'whether federal or local,' when, in fact, Kansas has no 'local' laws except those imposed by the usurpation from Missouri, and it calls for additional appropriations to complete this work of tyranny.

"I shall not follow the President in his elaborate endeavour to prejudge the contested election now pending in the House of Representatives; for this whole matter belongs to the privileges of that body, and neither the President nor the Senate has a right to intermeddle therewith. I do not touch it. But now, while dismissing it, I should not pardon myself if I failed to add, that any person who founds his claim to a seat in Congress on the pretended votes of hirelings from another State, with no home on the soil of Kansas, plays the part of Anacharsis Clootz, who, at the bar of the French Convention, undertook to represent nations that knew him not, or, if they knew him, scorned him; with this difference, that, in our American case, the excessive farce of the transaction cannot cover its tragedy. But all this I put aside, to deal only with what is legitimately before the Senate.

"I expose simply the tyranny which upholds the existing usurpation, and asks for additional appropriations. Let it be judged by an example, from which in this country there can be no appeal. Here is the speech of George III., made from the throne to Parliament, in response to the complaints of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, which, though smarting under laws passed by usurped power, had yet avoided all armed opposition, while Lexington and Bunker Hill still slumbered in rural solitude, unconscious of the historic kindred which they were soon to claim. Instead of Massachusetts Bay, in the Royal Speech, substitute Kansas, and the Message of the President will be found fresh on the lips of the British King. Listen now to the words which, in opening Parliament, 30th November 1774, his Majesty, according to the official report, was pleased to speak:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It gives me much concern that I am obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to inform you

that a most daring *spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law* still unhappily prevails in the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, and has in divers parts of it broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. *These proceedings have been countenanced in other of my Colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obstruct the commerce of this Kingdom, by unlawful combinations.* I have taken such measures and given such orders as I have judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed, in the last session of the late Parliament, for the protection and security of the commerce of my subjects, and for the restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government, in the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*.'—*American Archives*, 4th series, vol. 1, page 1465.

"The King complained of a 'daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law;' so also does the President. The King adds, that it has 'broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature;' so also does the President. The King declares that these proceedings have been 'countenanced and encouraged in other of my Colonies;' even so the President declares that Kansas has found sympathy in 'remote States.' The King inveighs against 'unwarrantable measures' and 'unlawful combinations;' even so inveighs the President. The King proclaims that he has taken the necessary steps 'for carrying into execution the laws,' passed in defiance of the constitutional rights of the Colonies; even so the President proclaims that he shall 'exert the whole power of the Federal Executive' to support the usurpation in Kansas. The parallel is complete. The message, if not copied from the speech of the King, has been fashioned on the same original block, and must be dismissed to the same limbo. I dismiss its tyrannical assumptions in favour of the usurpation. I dismiss also its petition for additional appropriations in the affected desire to maintain order in Kansas. It is not money or troops that you need there, but simply the goodwill of the President. That is all, absolutely. Let his complicity with the crime cease, and peace will be restored. For myself, I will not consent to wad the national artillery with fresh appropriation bills, when its murderous hail is to be directed against the constitutional rights of my fellow-citizens.

(Continued at p. 204.)

NOTICE.

IN accordance with the wishes of many of our Subscribers, we have given, in our present number, the remainder of the Hon. Charles Sumner's oration on Kansas. We are, in consequence, compelled to postpone, until our next, the insertion of a great deal of interesting matter.



The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1856.

SLAVERY IN TURKEY.

In the April number of the *Reporter* we published an address on Turkish Slavery and the slave-trade, which the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* had presented, early in the previous month, to Viscount Palmerston, with a view that the subject thereof should be brought under the notice of the Peace Conference then sitting at Paris. In the article which preceded this Address, we set forth at some length the peculiar reasons which, in our judgment, existed for the interference of the representatives of the Christian Powers to put an end to the purchase and sale of Circassian and Georgian slaves, apart altogether from the broad principles on which we urged Her Majesty's Government to use its influence for the suppression of the slave-trade generally, and of Slavery throughout the Turkish dominions. We have reason to believe that the attention of Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs is directed to this subject, of which we ourselves shall not lose sight. Meanwhile, the nature, extent, and consequence of the system of Slavery existing in Turkey, and which the *Times* of the 1st of March last unblushingly apologized for, may be judged of from the subjoined communication, from the Constantinople correspondent of the *Morning Post*, published in a recent number of this journal.

"There has been lately an unusually large number of Circassians going about the streets of Constantinople. Many of them, no doubt, belonged to the deputation which came to petition the Porte that their country might be taken under the suzerainty of the Sultan—an arrangement which, of course, was inadmissible under the late treaty of peace. Before the war it was a disputed point whether or not Russia had a right, by any treaty with Turkey, to overrun Circassia; now, however, her claim has been, in a manner, tacitly recognised. But, *de facto*, nothing is changed, for Russia will now have no more power over the mountain tribes than she can obtain by arms, and that was the state of things before as well as during the war. It was perhaps fortunate that Mr. Longworth's mission accomplished nothing in the way of securing the Circassians as active allies in the late campaigns, for it is probable enough that we should have been obliged to sacrifice them at last, especially as our allies took no part in the mission to the Caucasus.

"A considerable portion, however, of the Circassians now in the capital have quite another mission than a political one to fulfil. They are here as slave-dealers, charged with the disposal

of the numerous parcels of Circassian girls that have been for some time pouring into this market. Perceiving that when the Russians shall have re-occupied the coast of the Caucasus this traffic in white slaves will be over, the Circassian dealers have redoubled their efforts ever since the commencement of the Peace Conferences to introduce into Turkey the greatest possible number of women while the opportunity of so doing lasted. They have been so successful, notwithstanding the prohibition of the trade by the Porte, and the presence of so many of her Majesty's ships in the Black Sea, that never, perhaps, at any former period, was white human flesh so cheap as it is at this moment. There is an absolute glut in the market, and dealers are obliged to throw away their goods, owing to the extent of the supply, which, in many instances, has been brought by steam under the British flag. In former times a 'good middling' Circassian girl was thought very cheap at 100*l.*, but at the present moment the same description of goods may be had for 5*l.*! In fact, the creatures are eating their heads off, and must be disposed of at any sacrifice, however alarming.

"Independently of all political, humane, and Christian objections to this abominable state of things, there are several practical ones which have even forced themselves on the attention of the Turks. With low prices a low class of purchasers come into the market. Formerly a Circassian slave-girl was pretty sure of being bought into a good family, where not only good treatment, but often rank and fortune awaited her; but at present low rates she may be taken by any huxter, who never thought of keeping a slave before. Another evil is, that the temptation to possess a Circassian girl at such low prices is so great in the minds of the Turks, that many who cannot afford to keep several slaves have been sending their blacks to market in order to make room for a newly-purchased white girl. The consequence is, that numbers of black women, after being as many as eight or ten years in the same hands, have lately been consigned to the broker for disposal. Not a few of those wretched creatures are in a state quite unfit for being sold. I have it on the authority of a respectable slave-broker, that at the present moment there have been thrown on the market unusually large numbers of negresses in the family-way, some of them even slaves of pachas and men of rank. He finds them so unsaleable, that he has been obliged to decline receiving any more. A single observation will explain the reason of this, which might appear strange when compared with the value that is attached even to an unborn black baby in some slave countries. In Constantinople it is evident that there is a very large number of negresses living and having habitual intercourse with their Turkish masters, yet it is a rare thing to see a mulatto. What becomes of the progeny of such intercourse? I have no hesitation in saying that it is got rid of by infanticide, and that there is hardly a family in Stamboul where infanticide is not practised in such cases as a mere matter of course, and without the least remorse or dread."

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

IN our last we gave, under the above head, an outline of the political tendencies of Mr. Buchanan, one of the candidates for the office of President of the American Republic. Up to the latest advices received by us, previously to going to press, the chances of the election of Colonel Fremont, the popular candidate, were augmenting, though it was evident that a very severe contest would take place. The friends of freedom ardently desire his success, and were they properly supported by the electoral colleges, his return would not be doubtful. Were the people polled, it is probable he would have a triumphant majority; but the presidential candidates are not thus elected. The manner is as follows. Each State chooses as many electors as it has members in both houses of the Legislature, and these constitute the electoral colleges, who elect the President and Vice-President. The correspondent of the *Times* observes on this system:

"In theory this body is supposed to deliberate, and select from the statesmen of the country, but practically the several parties select their candidate and nominate electors with a view to their support in the college. Thus, instead of any deliberation, the votes of the electors of each State are given in a body for one or the other candidate. The electors of each State meet in the capital of the State on a given day, cast their votes, and transmit the result to the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington. They are there opened in presence of both Houses, and the general result declared. The electoral college consists of 296 votes, distributed as follows:—

SIXTEEN FREE STATES.	FIFTEEN SLAVE STATES.
Maine 8	Delaware 3
New Hampshire . . . 5	Maryland 8
Vermont 5	Virginia 15
Massachusetts . . . 13	North Carolina . . 10
Rhode Island 4	South Carolina . . . 8
Connecticut 6	Georgia 10
New York 35	Florida 3
New Jersey 7	Alabama 9
Pennsylvania 27	Mississippi 7
Ohio 23	Louisiana 6
Indiana 13	Texas 4
Illinois 11	Tennessee 12
Michigan 6	Kentucky 12
Wisconsin 5	Missouri 9
Iowa 4	Arkansas 4
California 4	
176	120

It would be premature to hazard conjectures as to the result of the pending elections, but it may be useful to state, that to secure an election by the people, it is necessary to obtain 149 votes out of the 296, and that if Colonel Fremont can carry all the Free States, he would obtain a majority of 56. In order that our readers may judge of the sentiments of Colonel Fremont on the Slavery question,

we subjoin the letter containing his declaration of political principles, and accepting his nomination as President. We propose to give, in our next, a very interesting biographical notice of him, from a recent number of the *New-York Tribune*. Colonel Fremont, it will be seen, sets forth his views, on the one great distracting question of the day, in plain, straightforward language. He writes as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—You call me to a high responsibility by placing me in the van of a great movement of the people of the United States, who, without regard to past differences, are uniting in a common effort to bring back the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. Comprehending the magnitude of the trust which they have declared themselves willing to place in my hands, and deeply sensible of the honour which their unreserved confidence in this threatening position of the public affairs implies, I feel that I cannot better respond than by a sincere declaration, that, in the event of my election to the Presidency, I should enter upon the execution of its duties with a single-hearted determination to promote the good of the whole country, and to direct solely to this end all the power of the Government, irrespective of party issues and regardless of sectional strifes. The declaration of principles embodied in the resolutions of your Convention expresses the sentiments in which I have been educated, and which have been ripened into conviction by personal observation and experience. With this declaration and avowal, I think it necessary to revert to only two of the subjects embraced in these resolutions, and to those only because events have surrounded them with grave and critical circumstances, and given them especial importance. I concur in the views of the Convention, deprecating the foreign policy to which it adverts. The assumption that we have the right to take from another nation its domains because we want them is an abandonment of the honest character which our country has acquired; to provoke hostilities by unjust assumptions would be to sacrifice the peace and character of the country, when all its interests might be more certainly secured and its objects attained by just and healing counsels, involving no loss of reputation. International embarrassments are mainly the results of a secret diplomacy, which aims to keep from the knowledge of the people the operations of the Government. This system is inconsistent with the character of our institutions, and is itself yielding gradually to a more enlightened public opinion, and to the power of a free press, which, by its broad dissemination of political intelligence, secures in advance to the side of justice the judgment of the civilized world. An honest, firm, and open policy in our foreign relations would command the united support of the nation, whose deliberate opinions it would necessarily reflect. Nothing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation, in asserting its own independence and freedom, to avoid giving countenance to the extension of slavery. The influence of the small but compact and powerful class of

men interested in Slavery, who command one section of the country, and wield a vast political control as a consequence in the other, is now directed to turn back this impulse of the revolution and reverse its principles. The extension of Slavery across the continent is the object of the power which now rules the Government, and from this spirit has sprung those kindred wrongs in Kansas so truly pourtrayed in one of your resolutions, which prove that the elements of the most arbitrary Governments have not been vanquished by the just theory of our own. It would be out of place here to pledge myself to any particular policy that has been suggested to terminate the sectional controversy engendered by political animosities, operating on a powerful class banded together by a common interest. A practical remedy is the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free State. The South should, in my judgment, earnestly desire such a consummation. It would indicate its good faith; it would correct the mistake of the repeal; and the North, having practically the benefit of the agreement between the two sections, would be satisfied, and good feeling be restored. The measure is perfectly consistent with the honour of the South, and vital to its interests. That fatal act which gave birth to this purely sectional strife, originating in the scheme to take from free-labour the country secured to it by a solemn covenant, cannot be too soon disarmed of its pernicious force. The only genial region of the middle latitudes left to the emigrants of the Northern States for homes cannot be conquered from the free-labourers, who have long considered it as set apart for them in our inheritance, without provoking a desperate struggle. Whatever may be the persistence of the particular class which seems ready to hazard every thing for the success of the unjust scheme it has partially effected, I firmly believe that the great part of the nation, which throbs with patriotism of the free men of both sections, will have power to overcome it. They will look to the rights secured to them by the constitution of the Union as their best safeguard from the oppression of the class which, by a monopoly of the soil, and of slave-labour to till it, might in time reduce them to the extremity of labouring upon the same terms as the slaves. The great body of non-slaveholding free men, including those of the South, upon whose welfare Slavery is an oppression, will discover that the power of the general Government over the public lands may be beneficially exerted to advance their interests and secure their independence. Knowing this, their suffrages will not be wanting to maintain that authority in the Union which is absolutely essential to the maintenance of their own liberties, and which has more than once indicated the purpose of disposing of the public lands in such a way as would make every settler upon them a freeholder. If the people trust to the administration of the Government, the laws of Congress in relation to the territories will be faithfully executed; all its authority will be exerted in aid of the national will to re-establish the peace of the country on the just principles which have heretofore received the sanction of the Federal Governments of the States, and of the people of both sections. Such a policy would

leave no element to that sectional party which seeks its aggrandizement by appropriating the new territories to capital in the form of Slavery, but would inevitably result in the triumph of free-labour, the natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country, and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be rested on as the bulwark of free institutions. Trusting that I have a heart capable of comprehending our whole country, with its varied interests, and confident that patriotism exists in all parts of the Union, I accept the nomination of your Convention, in the hope that I may be enabled to serve usefully its cause, which I consider the cause of constitutional freedom.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"J. C. FREMONT.

"New York, July 8, 1856."

THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER ON KANSAS.

(Continued from p. 201.)

"Next comes the *Remedy of Folly*, which, indeed, is also a *Remedy of Tyranny*; but its folly is so surpassing as to eclipse even its tyranny. It does not proceed from the President. With this proposition he is not in any way chargeable. It comes from the Senator from South Carolina, who, at the close of a long speech, offered it as his single contribution to the adjustment of this question, and who thus far stands alone in its support. It might, therefore, fitly bear his name; but that which I now give to it is a more suggestive synonym.

"This proposition, nakedly expressed, is that the people of Kansas should be deprived of their arms. That I may not do the least injustice to the Senator, I quote his precise words:

"The President of the United States is under the highest and most solemn obligations to interpose; and if I were to indicate the manner in which he should interpose in Kansas, I would point out the old common-law process. I would serve a warrant on Sharpe's rifles, and if Sharpe's rifles did not answer the summons, and come into court on a certain day, or if they resisted the sheriff, I would summon the *posse comitatus*, and would have Colonel Sumner's regiment to be a part of that *posse comitatus*."

"Really, Sir, has it come to this? The rifle has ever been the companion of the pioneer, and, under God, his tutelary protector against the red man and the beast of the forest. Never was this efficient weapon more needed in just self-defence, than now in Kansas, and at least one article in our national Constitution must be blotted out, before the complete right to it can in any way be impeached. And yet such is the madness of the hour, that, in defiance of the solemn guaranty, embodied in the amendments to the Constitution, that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed,' the people of Kansas have been arraigned for keeping and bearing them, and the Senator from South Carolina has had the face to say openly, on this floor, that they should be disarmed—of course, that the fanatics of Slavery, his allies and constituents, may meet no impediment. Sir, the Senator is venerable with years; he is re-

puted also to have worn at home, in the State which he represents, judicial honours; and he is placed here at the head of an important Committee, occupied particularly with questions of law; but neither his years, nor his position, past or present, can give respectability to the demand he has made, or save him from indignant condemnation, when, to compass the wretched purposes of a wretched cause, he thus proposes to trample on one of the plainest provisions of constitutional liberty.

"Next comes the *Remedy of Injustice and Civil War*, organized by Act of Congress. This proposition, which is also an offshoot of the original Remedy of Tyranny, proceeds from the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) with the sanction of the Committee on Territories, and is embodied in the Bill which is now pressed to a vote.

"By this Bill it is proposed as follows:

"That whenever it shall appear, by a census to be taken under the direction of the Governor, by the authority of the Legislature, that there shall be 93,420 inhabitants (that being the number required by the present ratio of representation for a member of Congress) within the limits hereafter described as the Territory of Kansas, *the Legislature of said Territory shall be, and is hereby authorized to provide by law for the election of delegates*, by the people of said Territory, to assemble in Convention and form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever, by the name of the State of Kansas."

"Now, Sir, consider these words carefully, and you will see, that however plausible and velvet-pawed they may seem, yet in reality they are most unjust and cruel. While affecting to initiate honest proceedings for the formation of a State, they furnish to this Territory no redress for the crime under which it suffers; nay, they recognise the very usurpation, in which the crime ended, and proceed to endow it with new prerogatives. It is *by the authority of the Legislature* that the census is to be taken, which is the first step in the work. It is also *by the authority of the Legislature* that a Convention is to be called for the formation of a Constitution, which is the second step. But the Legislature is not obliged to take either of these steps. To its absolute wilfulness it is left to act or not to act in the premises. And since, in the ordinary course of business, there can be no action of the Legislature till January of the next year, all these steps, which are preliminary in their character, are postponed till after that distant day; thus keeping this great question open, to distract and irritate the country. Clearly this is not what is required. The country desires peace at once, and is determined to have it. But this objection is slight by the side of the glaring Tyranny, that, in recognising the Legislature, and conferring upon it these new powers, the Bill recognises the existing usurpation, not only as the authentic Government of the Territory for the time being, but also as possessing a creative power to reproduce itself in the new State. Pass this Bill, and you enlist Congress in the conspiracy, not only to keep the people of Kansas in their present

subjugation, throughout their territorial existence, but also to protract this subjugation into their existence as a State, while you legalize and perpetuate the very force by which Slavery has been already planted there.

"I know that there is another deceptive clause, which seems to throw certain safeguards around the election of delegates to the Convention, *when that Convention shall be ordered by the Legislature*; but out of this very clause do I draw a condemnation of the usurpation which the Bill recognises. It provides that the tests, coupled with the electoral franchise, shall not prevail in the election of delegates, and thus impliedly condemns them. But if they are not to prevail on this occasion, why are they permitted at the election of the Legislature? If they are unjust in the one case, they are unjust in the other. If annulled at the election of delegates, they should be annulled at the election of the Legislature; *whereas the Bill of the Senator leaves all these offensive tests in full activity at the election of the very Legislature out of which this whole proceeding is to come*, and it leaves the polls at both elections in the control of the officers appointed by the usurpation. Consider well the facts. By an existing statute, establishing the Fugitive Slave Bill as a shibboleth, a large portion of the honest citizens are excluded from voting for the Legislature, while, by another statute, all who present themselves with a fee of one dollar, whether from Missouri or not, and who can utter this shibboleth, are entitled to vote. And it is a Legislature thus chosen, under the auspices of officers appointed by the usurpation, that you now propose to invest with parental powers to rear the Territory into a State. You recognise and confirm the usurpation, which you ought to annul without delay. You put the infant State, now preparing to take a place in our sisterhood, to suckle with the wolf, which you ought at once to kill. The improbable story of Baron Munchausen is verified. The bear, which thrust itself into the harness of the horse it had devoured, and then whirled the sledge according to mere brutal bent, is recognised by this Bill, and kept in its usurped place, when the safety of all requires that it should be shot.

"In characterizing this Bill as the Remedy of Injustice and Civil War, I give it a plain, self-evident title. It is a continuation of the crime against Kansas, and as such deserves the same condemnation. It can only be defended by those who defend the crime. Sir, you cannot expect that the people of Kansas will submit to the usurpation which this Bill sets up, and bids them bow before, as the Austrian tyrant set up his cap in the Swiss market-place. If you madly persevere, Kansas will not be without her William Tell, who will refuse at all hazards to recognise the tyrannical edict; and this will be the beginning of civil war.

"Next, and lastly, comes the *Remedy of Justice and Peace*, proposed by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward,) and embodied in his Bill for the immediate admission of Kansas as a State of this Union, now pending as a substitute for the Bill of the Senator from Illinois. This is sustained by the prayer of the people of the Territory, setting forth a Constitution formed by

a spontaneous movement, in which all there had opportunity to participate, without distinction of party. Rarely has any proposition, so simple in character, so entirely practicable, so absolutely within your power, been presented, which promised at once such beneficent results. In its adoption, the crime against Kansas will be all happily absolved, the usurpation which it established will be peacefully suppressed, and order will be permanently secured. By a joyful metamorphosis, this fair Territory may be saved from outrage.

"Oh, help," she cries, "in this extremest need, If you who hear are Deities indeed; Gape earth, and make for this dread foe a tomb Or change my form, whence all my sorrows come."

"In offering this proposition, the Senator from New York has entitled himself to the gratitude of the country. He has, throughout a life of unsurpassed industry, and of eminent ability, done much for Freedom, which the world will not let die; but he has done nothing more opportune than this, and he has uttered no words more effective than the speech, so masterly and ingenious, by which he has vindicated it.

"Kansas now presents herself for admission with a Constitution republican in form. And, independent of the great necessity of the case, three considerations of fact concur in commending her. First, She thus testifies her willingness to relieve the Federal Government of the considerable pecuniary responsibility to which it is now exposed on account of the pretended territorial Government. Secondly, She has, by her recent conduct, particularly in repelling the invasion at Wakarusa, evinced an ability to defend her Government. And, thirdly, By the pecuniary credit, which she now enjoys, she shews an undoubted ability to support it. What now can stand in her way?

"The power of Congress to admit Kansas at once is explicit. It is found in a single clause of the Constitution, which, standing by itself, without any qualification applicable to the present case, and without doubtful words, requires no commentary. Here it is:

"New States *may* be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress."

"New States *MAY* be admitted. Out of that little word, *may*, comes the power, broadly and fully—without any limitation founded on population or preliminary forms—provided the State is not within the jurisdiction of another State, nor formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States. Kansas is not within the legal jurisdiction of another State, although the laws of Missouri have been tyrannically extended over her; nor is Kansas formed by the junction of two or more States; and therefore Kansas *may* be admitted by Congress into the Union, without regard to population or preliminary forms. You cannot deny the power without

obliterating this clause of the Constitution. The Senator from New York was right in rejecting all appeal to precedents as entirely irrelevant; for the power invoked is clear and express in the Constitution, which is above all precedent. But, since precedent has been enlisted, let us look at precedent.

"It is objected that the *population* of Kansas is not sufficient for a State; and this objection is sustained by under-reckoning the numbers there, and exaggerating the numbers required by precedent. In the absence of any recent census, it is impossible to do more than approximate to the actual population; but, from careful inquiry of the best sources, I am led to place it now at 50,000, though I observe that a prudent authority, the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, puts it as high as 60,000; and, while I speak, this remarkable population, fed by fresh emigration, is outstripping even these calculations. Nor can there be a doubt, that, before the assent of Congress can be perfected in the ordinary course of legislation, this population will swell to the large number of 93,420, required in the Bill of the Senator from Illinois. But, in making this number the condition of the admission of Kansas, you set up an extraordinary standard. There is nothing out of which it can be derived, from the beginning to the end of the precedents. Going back to the days of the Continental Congress, you will find that, in 1784, it was declared that 20,000 free-men in a Territory might establish a permanent Constitution and Government for themselves. (*Journals of Congress*, Vol. 4, p. 379;) and though this number was afterwards, in the Ordinance of 1787 for the North-western Territory, raised to 60,000, yet the power was left in Congress, and subsequently exercised in more than one instance, to constitute a State with a smaller number. Out of all the new States, only Maine, Wisconsin, and Texas, contained, at the time of their admission into the Union, so large a population as it is proposed to require in Kansas; while no less than *fourteen* new States have been admitted with a smaller population; as will appear in the following list, which is the result of research, shewing the number of 'free inhabitants' in these States at the time of the proceedings which ended in their admission:

Vermont . . . 85,416	Illinois . . . 45,000
Kentucky . . . 61,103	Missouri . . . 56,586
Tennessee . . . 66,649	Arkansas . . . 41,000
Ohio . . . 50,000	Michigan . . . 92,673
Louisiana . . . 41,890	Florida . . . 27,091
Indiana . . . 60,000	Iowa . . . 81,921
Mississippi . . . 35,000	California . . . 92,597
Alabama . . . 50,000	

"But this is not all. At the adoption of the Federal Constitution there were three of the old thirteen States whose respective populations did not reach the amount now required for Kansas. These were, Delaware, with a population of 59,096; Rhode Island, with a population of 64,689; and Georgia, with a population of 82,548. And even now, while I speak, there are at least two States, with Senators on this floor, which, according to the last census, do not contain the population now required of Kansas. I refer to Delaware, with a population of 91,635, and

Florida, with a population of freemen amounting only to 47,203. So much for precedents of population.

"But in sustaining this objection, it is not uncommon to depart from the strict rule of numerical precedent, by suggesting that the population required in a new State has always been, in point of fact, above the existing ratio of representation for a member of the House of Representatives. But this is not true; for at least one State, Florida, was admitted with a population below this ratio, which at the time was 70,680. So much, again, for precedents. But even if this coincidence were complete, it would be impossible to press it into a binding precedent. The rule seems reasonable, and, in ordinary cases, would not be questioned; but it cannot be drawn or implied from the Constitution. Besides, this ratio is, in itself, a sliding scale. At first, it was 33,000, and thus continued till 1811, when it was put at 35,000. In 1822, it was 40,000; in 1832, it was 47,000; in 1842, it was 70,680; and now it is 93,420. If any ratio is to be made the foundation of a binding rule, it should be that which prevailed at the adoption of the Constitution, and which still continued, when Kansas, as a part of Louisiana, was acquired from France, under solemn stipulation that it should 'be incorporated into the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution.' But this whole objection is met by the memorial of the people of Florida, which, if good for that State, is also good for Kansas. Here is a passage:

"But the people of Florida respectfully insist that their right to be admitted into the Federal Union as a State is not dependent upon the fact of their having a population equal to such ratio. Their right to admission, it is conceived, is guaranteed by the express pledge in the sixth article of the treaty before quoted; and if any rule as to the number of the population is to govern, it should be that in existence at the time of the cession, which was thirty-five thousand. They submit, however, that any ratio of representation, dependent upon legislative action, based solely on convenience and expediency, shifting and vacillating as the opinion of a majority of Congress may make it, now greater than at a previous apportionment, but which a future Congress may prescribe to be less, cannot be one of the constitutional PRINCIPLES referred to in the treaty, consistency with which, by its terms, is required. It is, in truth, but a mere regulation, not founded on principle. No specified number of population is required by any recognised principle as necessary in the establishment of a free Government.

"It is in no wise 'inconsistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution' that the population of a State should be less than the ratio of Congressional representation. The very case is provided for in the Constitution. With such deficient population, she would be entitled to one representative. If any event should cause a decrease of the population of one of the States even to a number below the minimum ratio of representation prescribed by the Constitution, she would still remain a member of the Confederacy, and be entitled to such representative. It is

respectfully urged, that a rule or principle which would not justify the *expulsion* of a State with a deficient population, on the ground of inconsistency with the Constitution, should not exclude or prohibit *admission*."—(*Exec. Doc.*, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 4, No. 206.)

"Thus, Sir, do the people of Florida plead for the people of Kansas.

"Distrusting the objection from inadequacy of population, it is said that the *proceedings for the formation of a new State are fatally defective in form*. It is not asserted that a previous enabling Act of Congress is indispensable; for there are notorious precedents the other way, among which are Kentucky in 1791; Tennessee in 1796; Maine in 1820; and Arkansas and Michigan in 1836. But it is urged that in no instance has a State been admitted, whose Constitution was formed without such enabling Act, or without the authority of the Territorial Legislature. This is not true; for California came into the Union with a Constitution, formed not only without any previous enabling Act, but also without any sanction from a Territorial Legislature. The proceedings which ended in this Constitution were initiated by the military Governor there, acting under the exigency of the hour. This instance may not be identical in all respects with that of Kansas; but it displaces completely one of the assumptions which Kansas now encounters, and it also shews completely the disposition to relax all rule, under the exigency of the hour, in order to do substantial justice.

"But there is a memorable instance, which contains in itself every element of irregularity which you denounce in the proceedings of Kansas. Michigan, now cherished with such pride as a sister State, achieved admission into the Union in persistent defiance of all rule. Do you ask for precedents? Here is a precedent for the largest latitude, which you, who profess a deference to precedent, cannot disown. Mark, now, the stages of this case. The first proceedings of Michigan were without any previous enabling Act of Congress; and she presented herself at your door with a Constitution thus formed, and with Senators chosen under that Constitution—precisely as Kansas now. This was in December 1835, while Andrew Jackson was President. By the leaders of the Democracy at that time, all objection for alleged defects of form was scouted, and language was employed which is strictly applicable to Kansas. There is nothing new under the sun; and the very objection of the President, that the application of Kansas proceeds from 'persons acting against authorities duly constituted by Act of Congress,' was hurled against the application of Michigan, in debate on this floor, by Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana. This was his language:

"But the people of Michigan, in presenting their Senate and House of Representatives as the legislative power existing there, shewed that they had trampled upon and violated the laws of the United States establishing a Territorial Government in Michigan. These laws were, or ought to be, in full force there; but, by the character and position assumed, they had set up a Government antagonist to that of the United States."—*Congress Deb.*, Vol. 12, p. 288, 24th Cong., 1st Session.)

"To this impeachment Mr. Benton replied in these effective words:

"Conventions were original acts of the people. They depended upon inherent and inalienable rights. The people of any State may at any time meet in Convention, without a law of their Legislature, and without any provision, or against any provision in their Constitution, and may alter or abolish the whole frame of Government as they please. The sovereign power to govern themselves was in the majority, and they could not be divested of it."—(*Ibid.*, p. 1036.)

"Mr. Buchanan vied with Mr. Benton in vindicating the new State:

"The precedent in the case of Tennessee has completely silenced all opposition in regard to the necessity of a previous Act of Congress to enable the people of Michigan to form a State Constitution. It now seems to be conceded that our subsequent approbation is equivalent to our previous action. This can no longer be doubted. *We have the unquestionable power of waiving any irregularities in the mode of framing the Constitution, had any such existed.*"—(*Ibid.*, p. 1041.)

"He did hope that by this Bill all objections would be removed; and that this State, so ready to rush into our arms, would not be repulsed, *because of the absence of some formalities, which perhaps were very proper, but certainly not indispensable.*"—(*Ibid.*, p. 1015.)

"After an animated contest in the Senate, the Bill for the admission of Michigan, *on her assent to certain conditions*, was passed by 23 yeas to 8 nays. But you find weight, as well numbers, on the side of the new State. Among the yeas were Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Silas Wright, of New York, W. R. King, of Alabama.—(*Cong. Globe*, Vol. 3, p. 276, 1st Session, 24th Con.) Subsequently, on motion of Mr. Buchanan, the two gentlemen sent as Senators by the new State received the regular compensation for attendance throughout the very Session in which their seats had been so acrimoniously assailed.—(*Ibid.* p. 448.)

"In the House of Representatives the application was equally successful. The Committee on the Judiciary, in an elaborate report, reviewed the objections, and, among other things, said:

"That the people of Michigan have, without due authority, formed a State Government, but nevertheless, *that Congress has power to waive any objection which might on that account be entertained*, to the ratification of the Constitution which they have adopted, and to admit their Senators and Representatives to take their seats in the Congress of the United States."—(*Exec. Doc.*, 1st Sess. 24th Cong., Vol. 2, No. 380.)

"The House sustained this view by a vote of 153 yeas to 45 nays. In this large majority, by which the title of Michigan was then recognised, will be found the name of Franklin Pierce, at that time a Representative from New Hampshire.

"But the case was not ended. The fiercest trial and the greatest irregularity remained. The Act providing for the admission of the new State contained a modification of its boundaries, and

proceeded to require, as a *fundamental condition*, that these should 'receive the assent of a Convention of Delegates, elected by the people of the said State, for the sole purpose of giving he assent herein required.'—(*Statutes at Large*, Vol. 5, p. 50, Act of June 5th, 1836.) Such a Convention, duly elected under a call from the Legislature, met in pursuance of law, and, after consideration, declined to come into the Union on the condition proposed. But the action of this Convention was not universally satisfactory, and in order to effect an admission into the Union, another Convention was called, *professedly* by the people, in their sovereign capacity, without any authority from State or Territorial Legislature; nay, Sir, according to the language of the present President, 'against authorities duly constituted by Act of Congress;' at least as much as the recent Convention in Kansas. The irregularity of this Convention was increased by the circumstance, that two of the oldest counties of the State, comprising a population of some 25,000 souls, refused to take any part in it, even to the extent of not opening the polls for the election of delegates, claiming that it was held without warrant of law, and in defiance of the legal Convention. This popular Convention, though wanting a popular support co-extensive with the State, yet proceeded, by formal act, to give the assent of the people of Michigan to the fundamental condition proposed by Congress.

"The proceedings of the two Conventions were transmitted to President Jackson, who, by Message, dated 27th December 1836, laid them both before Congress, indicating very clearly his desire to ascertain the will of the people, without regard to form. The origin of the popular Convention he thus describes:

"This Convention was not held or elected by virtue of any Act of the Territorial or State Legislature. It originated from the people themselves, and was chosen by them in pursuance of resolutions adopted in primary assemblies held in the respective counties.—(*Sen. Doc.*, 2d Sess. 24th Cong., Vol. 1, No. 36.)

"And he then declares, that had these proceedings come to him during the recess of Congress, he should have felt it his duty, on being satisfied that they emanated from a Convention of Delegates elected *in point of fact by the people of the State*, to issue his proclamation for the admission of the State.

"The Committee on the Judiciary in the Senate, of which Felix Grundy was Chairman, after inquiry, recognised the competency of the popular Convention, as 'elected by the people of the State of Michigan,' and reported a Bill, responsive to their assent of the proposed condition, for the admission of the State without further condition.—(*Statutes at Large*, Vol. 5, p. 144, Act of 26th Jan. 1837.) Then, Sir, appeared the very objections which are now directed against Kansas. It was complained that the movement for immediate admission was the work of 'a minority,' and that 'a great majority of the State feel otherwise.'—(*Sen. Doc.*, 2d Sess. 24th Cong., Vol. 1, No. 37.) And a leading Senator, of great ability and integrity, Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, broke forth in a catechism which would do for the present hour: He exclaimed:

"What evidence had the Senate of the organization of the Convention? Of the organization of the popular assemblies who appointed their delegates to that Convention? None on earth. Who they were that met and voted, we had no information. Who gave the notice? And for what did the people receive the notice? To meet and elect? What evidence was there that the Convention acted according to law? Were the delegates sworn? And, if so, they were extra-judicial oaths, and not binding upon them. Were the votes counted? In fact, it was not a proceeding under the forms of law, for they were totally disregarded." — (*Cong. Globe*, Vol. 4, p. 60, 2d Sess. 24th Cong.)

"And the same able Senator, on another occasion, after exposing the imperfect evidence with regard to the action of the Convention, existing only in letters and in an article from a Detroit newspaper, again exclaimed:

"This, Sir, is the evidence to support an organic law of a new State about to enter into the Union—yes, of an organic law, the very highest act a community of men can perform—letters referring to other letters and a scrap of a newspaper." — (*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 13, Part I. p. 233.)

"It was Mr. Calhoun, however, who pressed the opposition with the most persevering intensity. In his sight, the admission of Michigan, under the circumstances, 'would be the most monstrous proceeding under our Constitution that can be conceived, the most repugnant to its principles and dangerous in its consequences.' — (*Cong. Debates*, Vol. 13, p. 210.) 'There is not,' he exclaimed, 'one particle of official evidence before us. We have nothing but the private letters of individuals, who do not know even the numbers that voted on either occasion. They know nothing of the qualifications of voters nor how their votes were received, nor by whom counted.' — (*Ibid.*) And he proceeded to characterize the popular Convention as 'not only a party caucus for party purpose, but a criminal meeting—a meeting to subvert the authority of the State and to assume its sovereignty;' adding, 'that the actors in that meeting might be indicted, tried, and punished;' and he expressed astonishment that 'a self-created meeting, convened for a criminal object, had dared to present to this Government an Act of theirs, and to expect that we are to receive this irregular and criminal act as a fulfilment of the condition which we had presented, for the admission of the State.' — (*Ibid.*, p. 299.) No stronger words have been employed against Kansas.

"But the single question on which all the proceedings then hinged, and which is as pertinent in the case of Kansas as in the case of Michigan, was thus put by Mr. Morris, of Ohio — (*Ibid.*, p. 215.)—'*Will Congress recognise as valid, constitutional, and obligatory, without the colour of a law of Michigan to sustain it, an act done by the people of that State in their primary assemblies, and acknowledge that act as obligatory on the constituted authorities and Legislature of the State?*' This question, thus distinctly presented, was answered in debate by able Senators, among whom were Mr. Benton and Mr. King. But there was one person, who has since enjoyed much public confidence, and has left many memorials of an

industrious career in the Senate and in diplomatic life, James Buchanan, who rendered himself conspicuous by the ability and ardour with which, against all assaults, he upheld the cause of the popular Convention, which was so strongly denounced, and the entire conformity of its proceedings with the genius of American Institutions. His speeches on that occasion contain an unanswerable argument, at all points, *mutata nomine*, for the immediate admission of Kansas under her present Constitution: nor is there any thing by which he is now distinguished that will redound so truly to his fame, if he only continues true to them. But the question was emphatically answered in the Senate by the final vote on the passage of the Bill, where we find 25 yeas to only 10 nays. In the House of Representatives, after debate, the question was answered in the same way, by a vote of 148 yeas to 58 nays; and among the yeas is again the name of Franklin Pierce, a Representative from New Hampshire.

"Thus, in that day, by such triumphant votes, did the cause of Kansas prevail in the name of Michigan. A popular Convention—called absolutely without authority, and containing delegates from a portion only of the population—called, too, in opposition to constituted authorities, and in derogation of another Convention assembled under the forms of law—stigmatized as a caucus and a criminal meeting, whose authors were liable to indictment, trial, and punishment—was, after ample debate, recognised by Congress as valid, and Michigan now holds her place in the Union, and her Senators sit on this floor, by virtue of that act. Sir, if Michigan is legitimate, Kansas cannot be illegitimate. You bastardize Michigan when you refuse to recognise Kansas.

"Again, I say, do you require a precedent? I give it to you. But I will not stake this cause on any precedent. I plant it firmly on the fundamental principle of American Institutions, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, by which Government is recognised as deriving its just powers only from the consent of the governed, who may alter or abolish it when it becomes destructive of their rights. In the debate on the Nebraska Bill, at the overthrow of the prohibition of Slavery, the Declaration of Independence was denounced as a 'self-evident lie.' It is only by a similar audacity that the fundamental principle, which sustains the proceedings in Kansas, can be assailed. Nay, more; you must disown the Declaration of Independence, and adopt the Circular of the Holy Alliance, which declares that 'useful and necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of States ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. Face to face, I put the principle of the Declaration of Independence and the principle of the Holy Alliance, and bid them grapple! 'The one places the remedy in the hands which feel the disorder; the other places the remedy in the hands which cause the disorder;' and when I thus truthfully characterize them, I but adopt a sententious phrase from the Debates in the Virginia Convention on the adoption of the Federal Constitution.—

(3 *Elliot's Debates*, 107—Mr. Corbin.) And now these two principles, embodied in the rival propositions of the Senator from New York and the Senator from Illinois, must grapple on this floor.

"Statesmen and judges, publicists and authors, with names and authority in American history, espouse and vindicate the American principle. Hand in hand, they now stand around Kansas, and feel this new State lean on them for support. Of these I content myself with adducing two only, both from slaveholding Virginia, in days when human rights were not without support in that State. Listen to the language of St. George Tucker, the distinguished commentator upon Blackstone, uttered from the bench in a judicial opinion:

"The power of convening the legal Assemblies, or the ordinary constitutional Legislature, resided solely in the Executive. They could neither be chosen without writs issued by its authority, nor assemble, when chosen, but under the same authority. The Conventions, on the contrary, were chosen and assembled, either in pursuance of recommendations from Congress, or from their own bodies, or by the discretion and common consent of the people. They were held even whilst a legal Assembly existed. Witness the Convention held at Richmond, in March 1775; after which period the legal constitutional Assembly was convened in Williamsburg, by the Governor, Lord Dunmore. * * * Yet a constitutional dependence on the British Government was never denied until the succeeding May. * * * The Convention, then, was not the ordinary Legislature of Virginia. It was the body of the people, impelled to assemble from a sense of common danger, consulting for the common good, and acting in all things for the common safety.'—(1 *Virginia Cases*, 70, 71, *Kemper v. Hawkins*.)

"Listen also to the language of James Madison:

"That in all great changes of established Government, forms ought to give way to substance; that a rigid adherence in such cases to the forms would render nominal and nugatory the transcendent and precious right of the people 'to abolish or alter their Government, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.' * * * Nor can it have been forgotten that no little ill-timed scruples, no zeal for adhering to ordinary forms, were anywhere seen, except in those who wished to indulge under these masks their secret enmity to the substance contended for.'—(*The Federalist*, No. 40.)

"Proceedings thus sustained I am unwilling to call revolutionary, although this term has the sanction of the Senator from New York. They are founded on an unquestionable American right, declared with Independence, confirmed by the blood of the fathers, and expounded by patriots, which cannot be impeached without impairing the liberties of all. On this head, the language of Mr. Buchanan, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, is explicit:

"Does the Senator (Mr. Calhoun) contend, then, that if, in one of the States of this Union, the Government be so organized as to utterly destroy the right of equal representation, there is no mode of obtaining redress, but by an Act of

the Legislature authorizing a Convention, or by open rebellion? Must the people step at once from oppression to open war? Must it be either absolute submission, or absolute revolution? *Is there no middle course?* I cannot agree with the Senator. I say that the whole history of our Government establishes the principle that the people are sovereign, and that a majority of them can alter or change their fundamental laws at pleasure. *I deny that this is either rebellion or revolution. It is an essential and a recognised principle in all our forms of Government.*—(*Congress Deb.* Vol. 13, p. 313, 24th Cong., 2d Session.)

"Surely, Sir, if ever there was occasion for the exercise of this right, the time had come in Kansas. The people there had been subjugated by a horde of foreign invaders, and brought under a tyrannical code of revolting barbarity, while property and life among them were left exposed to audacious assaults which flaunted at noon-day, and to reptile abuses which crawled in the darkness of night. *Self-defence is the first law of nature*; and unless this law is temporarily silenced—as all other law has been silenced there—you cannot condemn the proceedings in Kansas. Here, Sir, is an unquestionable authority—in itself an overwhelming law—which belongs to all countries and times—which is the same in Kansas as at Athens and Rome—which is now, and will be hereafter, as it was in other days—in presence of which Acts of Congress and Constitutions are powerless as the voice of man against the thunder which rolls through the sky—which whispers itself coeval with life—whose very breath is life itself; and now, in the last resort, do I place all these proceedings under this supreme safeguard, which you will assail in vain. Any opposition must be founded on a fundamental perversion of facts, or a perversion of fundamental principles, which no speeches can uphold, though surpassing in numbers the nine hundred thousand piles driven into the mud in order to sustain the Dutch Stad-house at Amsterdam!

"Thus, on every ground of precedent, whether as regards population or forms of proceeding; also, on the vital principle of American Institutions; and, lastly, on the absolute law of self-defence, do I now invoke the power of Congress to admit Kansas at once and without hesitation into the Union. 'New States may be admitted by the Congress into the Union;' such are the words of the Constitution. If you hesitate for want of precedent, then do I appeal to the great principle of American institutions. If, forgetting the origin of the Republic, you turn away from this principle, then, in the name of human nature, trampled down and oppressed, but aroused to a just self-defence, do I plead for the exercise of this power. Do not hearken, I pray you, to the propositions of tyranny and folly; do not be ensnared by that other proposition of the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) in which is the horrid root of injustice and civil war. But apply gladly, and at once, the true remedy, wherein are justice and peace.

"Mr. President, an immense space has been traversed, and I now stand at the goal. The argument in its various parts is here closed. The crime against Kansas has been displayed in its

origin and extent, beginning with the overthrow of the prohibition of Slavery; next cropping out in conspiracy on the borders of Missouri; then hardening into a continuity of outrage, through organized invasions and miscellaneous assaults, in which all security was destroyed; and ending at last in the perfect subjugation of a generous people to an unprecedented usurpation. Turning aghast from the crime, which, like murder, seemed to confess itself 'with most miraculous organ,' we have looked with mingled shame and indignation upon the four Apologies, whether of Tyranny, Imbecility, Absurdity, or Infamy, in which it has been wrapped, marking especially the false testimony, congenial with the original crime against the Emigrant-Aid Company. Then were noted, in succession, the four Remedies, whether of Tyranny, Folly, Injustice and Civil War—or Justice and Peace; which last bids Kansas, in conformity with past precedents and under the exigencies of the hour, in order to redeem her from usurpation, to take a place as a sovereign State of the Union; and this is the true remedy. If in this argument I have not unworthily vindicated truth, then have I spoken according to my desires; if imperfectly, then only according to my powers. But there are other things, not belonging to the argument, which still press for utterance.

"Sir, the people of Kansas, bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh, with the education of freemen and the rights of American citizens, now stand at your door. Will you send them away, or bid them enter? Will you push them back to renew their struggles with a deadly foe, or will you preserve them in security and peace? Will you cast them again into the den of tyranny, or will you help their despairing efforts to escape? These questions I put with no common solicitude; for I feel that on their just determination depend all the most precious interests of the Republic; and I perceive too clearly the prejudices in the way, and the accumulating bitterness against this distant people, now claiming their simple birthright, while I am bowed with mortification, as I recognise the President of the United States, who should have been a staff to the weak and a shield to the innocent, at the head of this strange oppression.

"At every stage, the similitude between the wrongs of Kansas and those other wrongs against which our fathers rose, becomes more apparent. Read the Declaration of Independence, and there is hardly an accusation which is there directed against the British Monarch, which may not now be directed with increased force against the American President. The parallel has a fearful particularity. Our fathers complained that the King had 'sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance'; that he 'had combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation'; that 'he had abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us'; that 'he had excited domestic insurrection among us, and endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontier the merciless savages'; that 'our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.' And this arraignment was

aptly followed by the damning words, that 'a Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.' And surely, a President who has done all these things, cannot be less unfit than a Prince. At every stage, the responsibility is brought directly to him. His offence has been both of commission and omission. He has done that which he ought not to have done, and he has left undone that which he ought to have done. By his activity the prohibition of Slavery was overturned. By his failure to act the honest emigrants in Kansas have been left a prey to wrong of all kinds. *Nullum flagitium extitit, nisi per te; nullum flagitium sine te.* And now he stands forth the most conspicuous enemy of that unhappy Territory.

"As the tyranny of the British King is all renewed in the President, so on this floor have the old indignities been renewed, which embittered and fomented the troubles of our fathers. The early petition of the American Congress to Parliament, long before any suggestion of Independence, was opposed—like the petitions of Kansas—because that body 'was assembled without any requisition on the part of the Supreme Power.' Another petition from New York, presented by Edmund Burke, was flatly rejected, as claiming rights derogatory to Parliament. And still another petition from Massachusetts Bay was dismissed as 'vexatious and scandalous,' while the patriot philosopher who bore it was exposed to peculiar contumely. Throughout the debates, our fathers were made the butt of sorry jests and supercilious assumptions. And now these scenes, with these precise objections, have been renewed in the American Senate.

"With regret, I come again upon the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Butler,) who, omnipresent in this debate, overflowed with rage at the simple suggestion that Kansas had applied for admission as a State; and, with incoherent phrases, discharged the loose expectoration of his speech, now upon her representative, and then upon her people. There was no extravagance of the ancient Parliamentary debate which he did not repeat; nor was there any possible deviation from truth which he did not make, with so much of passion, I am glad to add, as to save him from the suspicion of intentional aberration. But the Senator touches nothing which he does not disfigure with error, sometimes of principle, sometimes of fact. He shews an incapacity of accuracy, whether in stating the Constitution or in stating the law, whether in the details of statistics or the diversions of scholarship. He cannot open his mouth, but out there flies a blunder. Surely he ought to be familiar with the life of Franklin; and yet he referred to this household character, while acting as agent of our fathers in England, as above suspicion; and this was done that he might give point to a false contrast with the agent of Kansas; not knowing that, however they may differ in genius and fame, in this experience they are alike—that Franklin, when entrusted with the petition of Massachusetts Bay, was assaulted by a foul-mouthed speaker, where he could not be heard in defence, and denounced as a 'thief,'

even as the agent of Kansas has been assaulted on this floor, and denounced as a 'forger.' And let not the vanity of the Senator be inspired by the parallel with the British statesmen of that day; for it is only in hostility to freedom that any parallel can be recognised.

"But it is against the people of Kansas that the sensibilities of the Senator are particularly aroused. Coming, as he announces, 'from a State'—aye, Sir, from South Carolina—he turns with lordly disgust from this newly-formed community, which he will not recognise even as 'a body politic.' Pray, Sir, by what title does he indulge in this egotism? Has he read the history of 'the State' which he represents? He cannot surely have forgotten its shameful imbecility from Slavery, confessed throughout the Revolution, followed by its more shameful assumptions for Slavery since. He cannot have forgotten its wretched persistence in the slave-trade as the very apple of its eye, and the condition of its participation in the Union. He cannot have forgotten its Constitution, which is Republican only in name, confirming power in the hands of the few, and founding the qualifications of its legislators on 'a settled freehold estate and ten negroes.' And yet the Senator, to whom that 'State' has in part committed the guardianship of its good name, instead of moving, with backward-treading steps, to cover its nakedness, rushes forward, in the very ecstasy of madness, to expose it, by provoking a comparison with Kansas. South Carolina is old; Kansas is young. South Carolina counts by centuries, where Kansas counts by years. But a beneficent example may be born in a day; and I venture to say, that against the two centuries of the older 'State,' may be already set the two years of trial, evolving corresponding virtue, in the younger community. In the one, is the long wail of Slavery; in the other, the hymns of Freedom. And if we glance at special achievements, it will be difficult to find anything in the history of South Carolina which presents so much of heroic spirit in an heroic cause as appears in that repulse of the Missouri invaders by the beleaguered town of Lawrence, where even the women gave their effective efforts to Freedom. The matrons of Rome, who poured their jewels into the treasury for the public defence—the wives of Prussia, who, with delicate fingers, clothed their defenders against French invasion—the mothers of our own revolution, who sent forth their sons, covered over with prayers and blessings, to combat for human rights, did nothing of self-sacrifice truer than did these women on this occasion. Were the whole history of South Carolina blotted out of existence, from its very beginning down to the day of the last election of the Senator to his present seat on this floor, civilization might lose—I do not say how little, but surely less than it has already gained by the example of Kansas, in its valiant struggle against oppression, and in the development of a new science of emigration. Already, in Lawrence alone, there are newspapers and schools, including a high school; and throughout this infant Territory there is more of mature scholarship, in proportion to its inhabitants, than in all South Carolina. Ah, Sir, I tell the Senator that

Kansas, welcomed as a free State, will be a 'ministering angel' to the Republic, when South Carolina, in the cloak of darkness which she hugs, 'lies howling.'

"The Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) naturally joins the Senator from South Carolina in this warfare, and gives to it the superior intensity of his nature. He thinks that the national Government has not completely proved its power, as it has never hanged a traitor; but, if the occasion requires, he hopes there will be no hesitation: and this threat is directed at Kansas, and even at the friends of Kansas throughout the country. Again occurs the parallel with the struggles of our fathers, and I borrow the language of Patrick Henry, when, to the cry from the Senator, of 'treason, treason,' I reply, 'if this be treason, make the most of it.' Sir, it is easy to call names; but I beg to tell the Senator that if the word 'traitor' is in any way applicable to those who refuse submission to a tyrannical usurpation, whether in Kansas or elsewhere, then must some new word, of deeper colour, be invented, to designate those mad spirits who would endanger and degrade the Republic, while they betray all the cherished sentiments of the fathers and the spirit of the Constitution, in order to give new spread to Slavery. Let the Senator proceed. It will not be the first time in history that a scaffold erected for punishment has become a pedestal of honour. Out of death comes life, and the 'traitor' whom he blindly executes will live immortal in the cause.

'For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas, with the silver in his hands;
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return,
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.'

"Among these hostile Senators, there is yet another, with all the prejudices of the Senator from South Carolina, but without his generous impulses, who, on account of his character before the country, and the rancour of his opposition, deserves to be named. I mean the Senator from Virginia, (Mr. Mason,) who, as the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, has associated himself with a special act of inhumanity and tyranny. Of him I shall say little, for he has said little in this debate, though within that little was compressed the bitterness of a life absorbed in the support of Slavery. He holds the commission of Virginia; but he does not represent that early Virginia, so dear to our hearts, which gave to us the pen of Jefferson, by which the equality of men was declared, and the sword of Washington, by which independence was secured; but he represents that other Virginia, from which Washington and Jefferson now avert their faces, where human beings are bred as cattle for the shambles, and where a dungeon rewards the pious matron who teaches little children to relieve their bondage by reading the Book of Life. It is proper that such a Senator, representing such a State, should rail against free Kansas.

"But this is not all. The precedent is still more clinching. Thus far I have followed exclu-

sively the public documents laid before Congress, and illustrated by the debates of that body; but well-authenticated facts, not of record here, make the case stronger still. It is sometimes said that the proceedings in Kansas are defective, because they originated in a party. This is not true; but even if it were true, then would they still find support in the example of Michigan, where all the proceedings, stretching through successive years, began and ended in party. The proposed State Government was pressed by the Democrats as a *party test*; and all who did not embark in it were denounced. Of the Legislative Council, which called the first Constitutional Convention in 1835, all were Democrats; and in the Convention itself, composed of eighty-seven members, only seven were Whigs. The Convention of 1836, which gave the final assent, originated in Democratic Convention on the 29th October, in the county of Wayne, composed of one hundred and twenty-four delegates, all Democrats, who proceeded to resolve—

“That the delegates of the *Democratic party* of Wayne, solemnly impressed with the spreading evils and dangers which a refusal to go into the Union has brought upon the people of Michigan, earnestly recommend meetings to be immediately convened by their fellow-citizens in every county of the State, with a view to the expression of their sentiments in favour of the election and call of another Convention, in time to secure our admission into the Union before the 1st of January next.”

“Shortly afterwards, a Committee of five, appointed by this Convention, all leading Democrats, issued a Circular, ‘under the authority of the delegates of the county of Wayne,’ recommending that the voters throughout Michigan should meet and elect delegates to a Convention to give the necessary assent to the Act of Congress. In pursuance of this call, the Convention met; and, as it originated in an exclusively party recommendation, so it was of an exclusively party character. And it was the action of this Convention that was submitted to Congress, and, after discussion in both bodies, on solemn votes, approved.

“But the precedent of Michigan has another feature, which is entitled to the gravest attention, especially at this moment, when citizens engaged in the effort to establish a State Government in Kansas are openly arrested on the charge of treason, and we are startled by tidings of the maddest efforts to press this procedure of preposterous tyranny. No such madness prevailed under Andrew Jackson; although, during the long pendency of the Michigan proceedings, for more than fourteen months, the Territorial Government was entirely ousted, and the State Government organized in all its departments. One hundred and thirty different legislative Acts were passed, providing for elections, imposing taxes, erecting corporations, and establishing courts of justice, including a Supreme Court and a Court of Chancery. All process was issued in the name of the people of the State of Michigan. And yet no attempt was made to question the legal validity of these proceedings, whether legislative or judicial. Least of all did any menial Governor, dressed in a little brief authority, play

the fantastic tricks which we now witness in Kansas; nor did any person, wearing the robes of justice, shock high Heaven with the mockery of injustice now enacted by emissaries of the President in that Territory. No, Sir; nothing of this kind then occurred. Andrew Jackson was President.

“Senators such as these are the natural enemies of Kansas, and I introduce them with reluctance, simply that the country may understand the character of the hostility, which must be overcome. Arrayed with them, of course, are all who unite, under any pretext or apology, in the propagandism of human Slavery. To such, indeed, the time-honoured safeguards of popular rights can be a name only, and nothing more. What are trial by jury, habeas corpus, the ballot-box, the right of petition, the liberty of Kansas, your liberty, Sir, or mine, to one who lends himself, not merely to the support at home, but to the propagandism abroad, of that preposterous wrong, which denies even the right of a man to himself? Such a cause can be maintained only by a practical subversion of all rights. It is, therefore, merely according to reason that its partisans should uphold the usurpation in Kansas.

“To overthrow this usurpation is now the special importunate duty of Congress, admitting of no hesitation or postponement. To this end it must lift itself from the cabals of candidates, the machinations of party, and the low level of vulgar strife. It must turn from that Slave oligarchy which now controls the Republic, and refuse to be its tool. Let its power be stretched forth towards this distant Territory, not to bind, but to unbind; not for the oppression of the weak, but for the subversion of the tyrannical; not for the prop and maintenance of a revolting usurpation, but for the confirmation of liberty.

“These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.”

“Let it now take its stand between the living and dead, and cause this plague to be stayed. All this it can do; and if the interests of Slavery did not oppose, all this it would do at once, in reverent regard for justice, law, and order, driving far away all the alarms of war: nor would it dare to brave the shame and punishment of this great refusal. But the slave-power dares any thing; and it can be conquered only by the united masses of the people. From Congress to the people I appeal.

“Already public opinion gathers unwonted forces to scourge the aggressors. In the press in daily conversation, wherever two or three are gathered together, there the indignant utterance finds vent. And trade, by unerring indications, attests the growing energy. Public credit in Missouri droops. The six per cents of that State, which at par should be 102, have sunk to 84½; thus at once completing the evidence of crime, and attesting its punishment. Business is now turning from the Assassins and Thugs, that infest the Missouri River on the way to Kansas, to seek some safer avenue. And this, though not unimportant in itself, is typical of greater changes. The political credit of the men who uphold the usurpation droops even more than the stocks; and the people are turning from all those through

whom the Assassins and Thugs have derived their disgraceful immunity.

"It was said of old, 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say. Amen.' (Deut. xxvii. 17.) Cursed, it is said, in the city, and in the field; cursed in basket and store; cursed when thou comest in, and cursed when thou goest out. These are terrible imprecations; but if ever any landmark were sacred, it was that by which an immense Territory was guarded for ever against Slavery; and if ever such imprecations could justly descend upon any one, they must descend now upon all who, not content with the removal of this sacred landmark, have since, with criminal complicity, fostered the incursions of the great wrong against which it was intended to guard. But I utter no imprecations. These are not my words; nor is it my part to add to or subtract from them. But, thanks be to God! they find a response in the hearts of an aroused people, making them turn from every man, whether President, or Senator, or Representative, who has been engaged in this crime; especially from those who, cradled in free institutions, are without the apology of education or social prejudice, until of all such those other words of the prophet shall be fulfilled—'I will set my face against that man, and make him a sign and a proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my people.' (Ezekiel xiv. 8.) Turning thus from the authors of this crime, the people will unite once more with the fathers of the Republic, in a just condemnation of Slavery—determined especially that it shall find no home in the national Territories—while the Slave-power, in which the crime had its beginning, and by which it is now sustained, will be cast into the charnel-house of defunct Tyranny.

"In this contest, Kansas bravely stands forth—the stripling leader, clad in the panoply of American institutions. In calmly meeting and adopting a frame of Government, her people have with intuitive promptitude performed the duties of freemen; and when I consider the difficulties by which she was beset, I find dignity in her attitude. In offering herself for admission into the Union as a FREE STATE, she presents a single issue for the people to decide. And since the Slave-power now stakes on this issue all its ill-gotten supremacy, the people, while vindicating Kansas, will at the same time overthrow this tyranny. Thus does the contest which she now begins involve not only liberty for herself, but for the whole country. God be praised, that she did not bend ignobly beneath the yoke! Far away on the prairies, she is now battling for the liberty of all, against the President, who misrepresents all. Everywhere among those who are not insensible to right, the generous struggle meets a generous response. From innumerable throbbing hearts go forth the very words of encouragement which, in the sorrowful days of our fathers, were sent by Virginia, speaking by the pen of Richard Henry Lee, to Massachusetts, in the person of her popular tribune, Samuel Adams:

"Chantilly, Va., June 23, 1774.

"I hope the good people of Boston will not lose their spirits, under their present heavy op-

pression, for they will certainly be supported by the other Colonies; and the cause for which they suffer is so glorious and so deeply interesting to the present and future generations, that all America will owe, in a great measure, their political salvation to the present virtue of Massachusetts Bay.'—(*American Archives*, 4th series, Vol. 1. p. 446.)

"In all this sympathy there is strength. But in the cause itself there is angelic power. Unseen of men, the great spirits of history combat by the side of the people of Kansas, breathing a divine courage. Above all towers the majestic form of Washington once more, as on the bloody field, bidding them to remember those rights of human nature for which the War of Independence was waged. Such a cause, thus sustained, is invincible.

"The contest, which, beginning in Kansas, has reached us, will soon be transferred from Congress to a broader stage, where every citizen will be not only spectator, but actor; and to their judgment I confidently appeal. To the people, now on the eve of exercising the electoral franchise, in choosing a Chief Magistrate of the Republic, I appeal, to vindicate the electoral franchise in Kansas. Let the ballot-box of the Union, with multitudinous might, protect the ballot-box in that Territory. Let the voters everywhere, while rejoicing in their own rights, help to guard the equal rights of distant fellow-citizens; that the shrines of popular institutions, now desecrated, may be sanctified anew; that the ballot-box, now plundered, may be restored; and that the cry, 'I am an American citizen, may not be sent forth in vain against outrages of any kind. In just regard for free-labour in that Territory, which it is sought to blast by unwelcome association with slave-labour; in Christian sympathy with the slave, whom it is proposed to task and to sell there; in stern condemnation of the crime which has been consummated on that beautiful soil; in rescue of fellow-citizens, now subjugated to a tyrannical usurpation; in dutiful respect for the early fathers, whose aspirations are now ignobly thwarted; in the name of the Constitution, which has been outraged—of the laws trampled down—of Justice banished—of Humanity degraded—of Peace destroyed—of Freedom crushed to earth—and in the name of the Heavenly Father, whose service is perfect freedom, I make this last appeal."

Advertisement.

BOSTON ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE *Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar* is held annually, during Christmas week, in Boston, United States, under the management of the *Massachusetts Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, and has been held there for the last twenty-two years, in order to raise funds for the prosecution of the anti-slavery cause. Contributions are regularly sent to it from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of late years from France, Germany, and Switzerland, by those who are alive to the evils caused by the system of chattel Slavery, and who sympathize with the efforts of the American Abolitionists.

This sympathy and assistance are gladly welcomed, and give cheer and encouragement in the long and arduous conflict which these devoted philanthropists have to maintain. It may well astonish us that Slavery should find so strong a foothold in a land where liberty and Christianity are so loudly professed; yet so it is in the United States. The great political parties and nearly all the religious sects are deeply tainted by its influence, and, with few exceptions, give it their support and sanction.

This Bazaar may seem but a small means of aiding an enterprise which aims at the overthrow of a system rooted in the habits and supposed interests of the Southern States, and in the political and commercial dealings of the whole American people; but we are assured by the labourers in this great cause, that it has been found an effectual means of attracting public attention to their efforts, and of raising the funds by which their great moral warfare is carried on. Its proceeds are paid into the treasury of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, and are expended in assisting to support its organ, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, to maintain a lecturing agency, and to print and circulate those pamphlets and tracts by which they endeavour to influence the public opinion of the United States. The *American Anti-Slavery Society* acts entirely by peaceful and moral means, and welcomes to its platform all who believe in the sinfulness of Slavery and the duty of immediate emancipation. It seeks to arouse the conscience and to touch the heart of the American people, and to shew them that expediency and duty alike demand the abolition of Slavery as essential to the best interests of the United States.

The atrocious assault recently committed by a Southern member of the American House of Representatives upon Mr. Charles Sumner, in the United-States Senate-house, for the expression of opinion in public debate; and the outrages perpetrated at the instigation of slaveholders in the territory of Kansas, and under the sanction of the American Government, upon settlers from the Free States, have aroused the indignation of all who appreciate the blessings of constitutional liberty on either side of the Atlantic. Yet these manifestations of the fearful system of Slavery are its legitimate fruits, and should afresh excite determined opposition to the system itself, and call forth renewed efforts and co-operation with those who, in the United States, are striving to rid their country of its degrading influence.

We cannot in any better way shew how thoroughly British sympathy and co-operation are valued by the Abolitionists, than by giving the following extract of a letter from one of them to a friend of his, and of our own, in Scotland. It will shew, that in a struggle like that between Slavery and Freedom in the

United States, where the Abolitionists have no prestige of wealth, power, or fashion, and are armed only for a moral fight, the sympathy and countenance which we can offer are even of more value to them than any positive gifts or substantial assistance that it is in our power to give:

"Boston, Jan. 15, 1856.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"A letter from you has come to hand to-day, which you were writing while the Bazaar here was going on, and you kindly thought of us. Who can tell how much of our strength to go through with that labour, and of our success in it, was given in answer to your earnest wishes and yearning sympathies? You disparage your own work, or rather you speak of it as an humble co-operation with us. Pray do not do so. I often think of you in Scotland, England, and Ireland, who stand your ground so firmly; who persevere so year by year in working for our (to mortal eyes) distant cause; who by your patient and singularly well-arranged operations collect together such a number and variety of articles of every conceivable kind, and of all degrees of value; *who do this in the midst of so great an amount of opposition and of misrepresentation both of yourselves and of us*; and of that heartlessness and indifference of the great majority—so much harder to get along with and to bear than open enmity. I say I often think of you, and that we are striving to do what we can with weapons you put in our hands. Again and again, through years that are gone, as I have seen your annual contributions borne from the ship to our place of examination, I have said to myself, 'Surely they will get tired of sending their donations to us. These will be the last. They will send no more.' But each approach of winter has witnessed the arrival of your gifts.

"I have not meant in this to deal with such contemptible wares as compliments: I have told you my real feelings—what I know to be the general feeling here. None of us can say what would be the general condition of our cause, how it would go on, if we had no encouraging words come to us across the Atlantic—no signs of sympathy in our great object. Nor need we stop to feel how it should be, or what we should do: while we have your most brotherly and sisterly goodwill, and help, and Godspeed, we are comforted, encouraged, strengthened. And when we reflect upon the intrinsic, the eternal nobleness and goodness of our cause—then we know that we must serve it, that we cannot choose but help it, and that this mysterious necessity is laid upon you also, blessing while it binds us, and that God has called us all in His unsearchable wisdom to work together, joining in harmonious co-operation those who never have seen and never will see each others' faces, to the end that this great work of humanity, of the mental, moral, and spiritual, as well as physical redemption of our brethren, may be accomplished, and that, too, by the might of His truth and love. Surely you will see that I do not mean to compliment our British allies, nor unduly to undervalue our own part of the work. Again I say I cannot tell how we should get on without you: doubtless the cause would

live—but I am thankful we are not called to this trial, and I rejoice to feel sure we never shall be called to it, while a conscientious love of right and justice, an indignant detestation of fraud and oppression, a kindly sympathy and pity for human sufferings and wrongs, live in the human soul, amongst all nations and in every clime.

"Your letters to Mrs. Stowe and others I forwarded at once by mail. Some hours after I had dropped them into the Post-office, Mrs. Stowe came into our anti-slavery rooms on a brief errand. She appeared to be very well.

"I made another and more systematic attempt to get the SCOTTISH ADDRESS, as sent to me from your city, copied into our religious journals, and also into some Southern papers. In the latter case I have totally failed: in the former I succeeded in getting it into a number, but not those of the more prominent and influential class. I have had no opportunity of expending the money you sent to pay for its insertion in the Southern journals, and shall now avail myself of your permission to appropriate it for the general good of the cause. A small-sized tract edition of the Address was printed and widely circulated. This course I hope you will approve."

Contributions to the Boston Bazaar are earnestly solicited, and will be received till the 22d of October, by the following ladies:

Bath	Mrs. Hayes, 3, Marlborough-buildings	Edinburgh	Miss Black, 38, Drummond-place
Belfast	Mrs. Cotteral	"	Mrs. Alexander, 4, St. Vincent-street
Birkenhead	Miss Ireland, Royal Institution	"	Mrs. Berry, Rosefield Cottage, Portobello
Birmingham	Mrs. O'Brien	Evesham	The Misses Davis
Bolton, Lancashire	Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston	Glasgow	Miss C. Paton
Bradford, Yorkshire	Miss Abbott	"	Mrs. W. Smeal
Bridgwater	Mrs. T. F. Bird, 3, Hustlers' Terrace	Hull	Mrs. Seaton, 30, Whitefriar-gate
Bristol	Mrs. Steinthal	Isle of Wight	Mrs. Kell
Chelmsford	Mrs. H. Thomas, 2, George-street	Kidderminster	Miss Talbot
Cheltenham	Mrs. Johns	Leeds	Mrs. Armistead
Cork	Mrs. Furber	"	Mrs. J. Lupton, 1, Blenheim-terrace
"	The Misses Jennings	Leigh, Lancashire	Miss Ann Fletcher
Crewe	Miss Dowden	Liverpool	Mrs. Banks, Myrtle-street
Derby	Mrs. N. Worsdell	"	Mrs. Powell, 113, Field-st.
Dublin	Miss Hutton	London	Mrs. Dr. Massie, Upper Clapton
"	Miss Bruce, Glenagerah House, Dalkey	"	Mrs. Reid, 21, York Terrace, Regent's Park
"	Mrs. Edmundson 35, Capel-street	Maidstone, Kent	Mrs. Woodward
"	The Misses Haughton, 35, Eccles-street	Manchester	Miss Whitelegge, 130, Ormond-street
"	Mrs. Thomas Hutton, 118, Summer-hill	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Mrs. John Mawson
"	The Misses Lloyd, Monks-town Hill, Kingston	"	Mrs. J. Drewry
"	Miss Townsend, Flower Grove, Rochestown Avenue, Dalkey	Northfleet, Gravesend	Miss Esther Sturge
"	Mrs. Webb, 176, Gt. Brunswick-street	Nottingham	Mrs. W. Enfield
Edinburgh	Mrs. J. Wigham, 5, Grey-st.	"	Mrs. Booth Addison
"	Mrs. M'Laren, Newington-House	"	Mrs. Turner, Lentonfield
		Oxford	Mrs. Hemmings
		Perth	Miss Grant
		"	The Misses Morton
		Pontypool	Mrs. Davies
		Preston, Lancashire	Mrs. Elizabeth Abbott
		Reading	Mrs. J. Huntly
		"	Mrs. Palmer, Wilberforce-place
		Redruth, Cornwall	Mrs. Bellows
		Sheffield	The Misses Milner
		Southampton	Mrs. Harman and Mrs. Clark
		Waterford	Miss Waring

Almost all kinds of ladies' work are appropriate. Materials used in fancy work—wools, sewing silks, beads, patterns, &c., &c., meet a ready sale, also drawings, coins, autographs, fancy stationery, toys (if portable), drawing materials, and fancy soaps.

Sofa cushions, fire screens, watch pockets, and babies' caps, are *not* in demand; nor are made-up dresses of any kind, the unmade materials being preferred. Articles which are fragile, not easily packed, or very bulky in proportion to their value, are not desirable.

Ladies and gentlemen to whom it would be more convenient to send donations in money are assured that their gifts shall be faithfully expended in the purchase of saleable articles, or in defraying the expense of freight or duties payable on importation into the United States.